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Pro-Slavery.

SPEECH OF REV. DR. ROSS,

OF TENNESSEE,

In the New School General Assembly, May 23, 1856.

Reported for The Independent.

THERE is not a man on the floor of this house who, in reference to slavery, has sustained a greater loss of property than I myself. I emancipated my slaves. If I had kept them, they would now have been worth to me forty thousand dollars. I do not mean to say that when I emancipated them they were all the property I possessed, for I had other means besides; but now, in the providence of God, all is gone and I am not worth a dollar.

I have always advocated the slavery agitation. I have differed from my Southern brethren in that matter. I have advocated every agitation which would bring out the life and light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. By reason of the agitation of slavery, the Bible doctrines in regard to slavery are now better understood at the South than they were twenty-five years ago. We do not believe that God looks with a frown upon ownership in man, and we base our convictions upon the Bible. I think the Northern thinking mind is nearer the South now than ever before, on the question of the Bible in relation to slavery. You could hardly have had so sublime a book as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" twenty years ago. That is a book of which I may say this: Every fact is true, but every impression false. That glorious genius has taken isolated facts, not one of which is more horrid than the murder of Dr. Parkman in Boston, and piled them up to make a false impression in regard to slavery. You could not have had from New England such a book as Dr. Adams's "South-Side View," or Miss Murray's "Narrative."

One of the good effects of discussion, upon the South, is, that our high-toned men, our men of high education, who took upon trust all that was said upon slavery, by the North, twenty-five years ago, now look to the Bible. When the subject was pressed upon them that slavery is a sin, *per se*, they investigated it, in the light of the Scriptures. There is now a respect there for the Bible such as was never known before. But, in the North, the agitation of the subject has driven off many of your good men into abolitionism, and the rankest infidelity. Are you not afraid that they have cast this Book into the fiery furnace, where it has been melted, and compressed, and tortured, and twisted into a Sharpe's rifle?

What is meant by holding slaves from humanity, as was mentioned in the Detroit resolutions? What does humanity mean? If a man can hold three slaves, upon the principle of humanity, he can hold thirty. If he can hold thirty, he can hold three hundred. If he can hold three hundred, he can hold three thousand. Why, the Czar of Russia controls *sixty millions!* And I say that a man would be a great fool, who thinks that God looks down with a frown from heaven upon the monarch of Russia, with his sixty million servants. If he is as good as he is great, he is God upon earth. Or, is there another style of fool here, who will say that God looks down from heaven and regards the king or emperor as a sinner? Then, the czar of South Carolina might, upon the principle of that resolution, own thirty thousand bondmen, upon the principles of humanity. So you see that resolution is worth nothing to you.

There has been but one speech here in which a Northern man went to the Bible to sustain his side, and that Northern man spoke for the Southern institution (Dr. Joel Parker).

Now, if that be so, is it not a startling fact? Is it not *startling* fact, that no man dares to open his Bible to prove the positions of the North? How is this? Sir, it speaks volumes. There is a constant attempt to run away from this plain English Bible into the fog of the Hebrew and the Greek, whenever the question of slavery is brought up. I bring you to-day this English Bible, King James's Bible, with its beautiful dedication; and I remark that this Bible shows the sources of all power over men to have been given by God himself. Do you admit this? Is it not true? But if it be so, then all our theories drawn from Blackstone and Paley, as to the sources of power to human society, are not true. Adam and Noah had in their families given to them all the power that is now given to the Emperor of Russia—power over life, and over liberty—power to be exercised to the fullest extent, for the interests and good of the family and the empire.

There is no such thing as abstract right to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Every man comes into the world with all these rights circumscribed by the fact of his being in the family, the state, the clan, the empire. There is no legal man that can dare to meet that position. I deny the doctrine of Blackstone. I deny Paley. I deny Hawes. I say that God has settled the fact of how men exist in social life. God gave to Noah the very first right to circumscribe life and liberty in his family. If Ham, instead of laughing at his father, had killed Shem, Noah would have ordered the offender to be killed; for the law was given that "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The curse of inferiority was entailed upon Ham. The curse of secondary inferiority was entailed upon Shem. Consequently, there never has been an African man who can compare with the highest type of the Asiatic man; and there never has been an Asiatic man to compare with the highest type of the European.

Turn to Exodus, 21st chapter: "Now these are the judgments, which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she shall have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free, then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him forever. And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do. If she please not her master, who had betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed; to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish."

Dr. WISNER—Does the Bible tolerate Polygamy?

Dr. ROSS—Yes, sir. I have a principle which will explain all that (great laughter). I could make that all plain to you, but I will read.

"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Well! you may take that verse and—— do what you please with it! (Laughter.)

"And if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money." What do you think of that? It says, "for he is his *money*."

I will turn now to Leviticus, 25th chap., 44th verse. "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids." Now, were the Israelites allowed to buy of the Israelites? Did they kidnap them? Perhaps so. But, were these buyers, under this institution of God, or the heathen-sellers, men-stealers? Certainly not.

Now, how far this institution was modified is not the question. The simple fact is, and the one which we need, that the institution of slavery is ordained of God, like the family institution; although the relation of master and slave is greatly inferior to that of husband and wife. I affirm that slavery is one of the social relations of men. It is like husband and wife, parent and child, older and younger, teacher and scholar, magistrate and citizen, merchant and clerk, captain and soldier, sovereign and people. These relations of life are expressly ordained of God; or they exist in that social economy which is the result of Divine Providence. In all these there is service. This service is found to be either voluntary or involuntary, and, as to duration, brief or protracted. There is either restraint or liberty in them all. In them all, there is a liability to oppression. The common talk of oppression in the relation of master and slave is just as applicable to all these social relations.

It is remarkable that in the highest and lowest of these relations there is a strange parallel, to say nothing of all the others. Women are said to be sold in the slave-markets, and it is called cruelty and oppression; but I have seen ladies, dressed in silks and satins, dwelling in fine houses, of polite manners, sold in a deliberate bargain and sale, upon their own sofas. I have known of the father disposing in marriage of his daughter to one whom she never could love, and would never, of her own choice, marry; and all this for nothing more nor less than money. I say there is a strange parallel. I ask if the relation of the wife and the husband, in Europe and America, is entirely voluntary on the part of both parties, in the formation of the marriage connection? In all Europe marriage is a contract. It is as much a bargain and sale as what takes place in New Orleans. Dr. Adams, in the "South-Side View," takes up court after court and counts the number of applications for divorce, in the Northern States, with the number granted. You seldom hear of a divorce in South Carolina.

I would say to the ladies in the gallery, that you cannot leave your chamber without the consent of your husband, although you may be as superior to him in mind and in heart as heaven is above the earth (great laughter).

What is right and wrong?

We are told that there is an eternal right and wrong in the nature of things. It is a fallacy. I am not dependent upon God to know that two and two are four. I thank him for the mind by which I am enabled to know that that is a fact, for I know it from the laws of my own mind. God has made laws as rules of government, which we are to obey. Where there is no law, there is no transgression. An offence depends upon the law which it violates, and not on the nature of things. It is against the law for a man to marry his sister. Now, is that wrong in the nature of things?

MANY VOICES—Yes!

Dr. ROSS—No! It is not. I can prove from the Scriptures that it is not. Cain and Abel married each other's sisters, didn't they? How do you get over that? And so the relation of a man to more wives than one was not only not forbidden, but it was no sin at all. God sanctioned it in that day. There is not a word against it; there is a word for it. But, in the coming day, when God meant to lift man still higher, for we are yet to be made companions for angels, a law was given against having more wives than one. Since the day of Christ this has been in force. And now it is sinful to have more wives than one. That is my theory in regard to polygamy.

Judge JESSUP—If the laws of South Carolina, and the state of society existing there, should throw no impediment in the way, would it be the Christian duty of Gov. Aiken to manumit his slaves?

Dr. ROSS—To settle that question properly would take a very wide reach of thought (laughter). But I think in my argument I have got the best of my Northern brethren, and they must submit (laughter).

Selections.

THOSE HOGSHEADS OF BLOOD.

From The Boston Transcript.

AND now let us say a few words about those hogsheads of blood. It has been thought, by some skilful practitioners, that the loss of a few hogsheads more, and a cooling regimen, would be good for chivalry. But we are not inclined to deny that much blood has been shed, during the Revolution, in South Carolina. We throw out of the account all that has been shed by the negroes in various ways.

The civil wars, in Carolina, during the revolution, were truly bloody wars. "During the revolutionary contest," says Mr. Ward, in his life of Curwen, page 318, "South Carolina was the scene of one of the most wasteful and bloody civil wars that ever raged in any country, at any age. History blushes at the recital of its horrors, and willingly suppresses many of its enormities." Tories overran the country, and those "*hogsheads of blood*" were shed, not in fighting against the common enemy, but among themselves. They could afford only 6,660 soldiers in the revolutionary struggle, while Massachusetts provided nearly seventy thousand soldiers. Were it not that the abstemious habits of the Senator are so thoroughly established, we should suppose him to be drunk, when he instituted a comparison between the services of Massachusetts and those of South Carolina during the war of the revolution. It is not in a boastful spirit that we follow the Senator thus sharply. It is because we have had altogether too much of this impudent chivalry—this offensive mixture of Southern ignorance and arrogance. Here now is an aged Senator, almost inconceivably ignorant of the history of the State he represents! If the men of South Carolina were so overrun by Tories and negroes that they could not prudently leave their wives and daughters in such society, and attend to the call of their bleeding country, we are sorry for it. But do not let us be told by a Senator from that State, so audaciously, that, while Massachusetts shed gallons, South Carolina shed hogsheads of blood, in the revolutionary struggle!

Though uttered in the way of retort by Mr. Wilson, it is strictly true that *the enemy thought it safe to go to South Carolina*. It is safer to attack a divided than a united people. The Carolina Tories were spread over the State. Those of Massachusetts, comparatively few in number, were, with few exceptions, cooped up with the enemy, in the peninsula, till the evacuation. In Moultrie's memoirs, there is a catalogue, a long one, of those interesting gentlemen who congratulated Sir Henry Clinton on the fall of Charleston. In Ward's Curwen, pp. 670, 671, Mr. Butler may find the black list of South Carolina Tories. On the latter page are the names of those who served as volunteers in the royal militia. In the same work, page 372, are the names of those who congratulated Lord Cornwallis on his arrival, and of those who avowed their allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, and of some ninety of the South Carolina chivalry who held commissions under the royal government! A most patriotic State, undoubtedly!

These statements are not offered in a taunting temper, but because they are historically true; and if the positive assertions of this rash and silly Senator were not entirely, and promptly, and extensively disproved, they would be swallowed and digested by nine-tenths of a population whose self-sufficiency is a proverb.

The Southern orator remarked:

> "South Carolina sent Massachusetts bread and seventy barrels of wine; the Maine law was not then in operation."

Had the Maine law, of late, been in successful operation in other quarters, Mr. Senator Butler would, probably, have exhibited a sounder discretion. South Carolina gave bread and wine to Massachusetts! This is true; and how one bright truth found its way into such a mass of nonsense and false assertions as compose the tirade of Mr. Butler, it is not easy to conceive. June 24, 1774, twenty-four days after the Boston Port Bill went into operation, a meeting was held in Charleston, S. C., at which sentiments of the highest respect and sympathy were expressed for the suffering inhabitants of Boston. The Trapiers, and the Eliots, the Horries, the Clarksons, and Gadsdens, and Pinckneys were the moving spirits of those better days! But wherefore this bread and wine? Were the men of Massachusetts slothful, or improvident, or reduced to poverty, through their own unthriftiness? Not so—the old Bay State was in the van—she bared her breast to the very first blows of a tyrannical oppressor; for she detested slavery then, as she detests it now. Her commerce was annihilated. She was the head and front; and was it a very great thing for one of the very feeblest of the members to help her to a little bread and wine? Did not the old Bay State repay the paltry boon, with interest, by fighting in the common cause, from the alpha to the omega of the war, doing a large part of South Carolina's work, as well as her own—while almost the whole of South Carolina's chivalry was engaged in watching her own negroes? And is this petty contribution to the general good a matter to be thus paraded, after a lapse of more than eighty years!

In anticipation of the effect of the Boston Port Bill, the Marylanders of Annapolis resolved that Boston was suffering in the common cause of America. The House of Burgesses of Virginia appointed the day when the Boston Port Bill came into operation as a day of fasting and prayer. By common consent, Massachusetts was entitled, as a very material part of the whole, to universal sympathy. The hand might as wisely boast of its services in the ministering to the necessities of the body, of which it is a part.

> "The very powder used by Massachusetts, after the battle of Bunker Hill, was furnished by South Carolina, which in the revolution poured out hogsheads of blood where Massachusetts shed gallons."

It was the luckiest thing in the world for South Carolina that it was taken out of the State. So much powder is never safe in so combustible a community. It would certainly have been expended in their civil wars, causing the effusion of an additional number of hogsheads.

The orator says:

> "Mr. Brooks could not go into a drawing-room, or to a public place after Sumner's speech was delivered, without the question being asked, has the South Carolina chivalry escaped?"

The general impression here is, that it *has* escaped.

D. J. B.

I am reminded by a friend that it was said of a certain clergyman that he could draw *corks* better than he could draw congregations. The very elegant rhetorical figure of the South Carolina Senator, if it fails in the illustration of statistics (as shown by your valuable articles), is at least, as all rhetorical figures should be, *a proof of his tastes*. I have long thought that the "chivalry" drew inspiration from *the cask*; I now see that it is indebted to the same source for the elements of a good style. As might be expected, however, under such circumstances, figures of speech and those of statistics, do not agree; and I cannot but think you have done good service in this matter, in putting "Hogsheads and Gallons" in their proper order of sequence. If the proclivities of the Senator from South Carolina are not much misrepresented, less of familiarity with the science of "*quantities*," as involved in "Hogsheads and Gallons," would render him more apt in that of *numbers*. A brief compend of revolutionary history, like that in your last paper, sent by mail, would perhaps be well adapted to the amount of time which he evidently gives to the logic of American history.

After all, it may be that, in one point of view the Senator is quite right in his statement. The present readiness of the "chivalry" to shed blood is undoubted evidence of tendencies and habits in the past. The uncle of "the gallant relative" states that "*where* South Carolina shed hogsheads, Massachusetts shed gallons." South Carolina *did* shed these amazing quantities of blood some*where*, and that somewhere was upon her own soil. *It was the blood of South Carolina in battle with South Carolina!* Massachusetts had little to do in the miserable partisan warfare which stains the annals of South Carolina with the blood of her own citizens. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether the accomplished Senator might not have placed *pints* to the credit of Massachusetts in that item of the Revolutionary annals. It is wonderful that, as a matter quite in keeping with the *tastes* of "Chivalry," that limited quantity did not suggest itself to the Senator.

What is the Revolutionary history of South Carolina? It is a history, in the main, of protections from the *British Government in South Carolina*, for life, and of course *property in life*. It is a history of *British Provincial Government* in that State. It is a history of the struggles of a very small minority of noble spirits (let it be admitted) against the bloody vengeance, not of Britain, but of overwhelming Tory odds. It is the record of gross outrage, of damning iniquity, of that fearful passion engendered of slavery, and subjecting the task-master equally with the slave—it is the record of all these, perpetrated and inflicted, in great degree, by *her own citizens upon her own citizens*. "*Where*," in warfare like this, "South Carolina shed hogsheads, Massachusetts shed"—with pride let it be said—*nothing*. Massachusetts rendered her limits too hot for *protected* Loyalists, and those limits are forever free from the blood of sons shed by sons.

But I did not intend occupying your columns to this extent. I merely add a single fact, which, in this connection, is somewhat apt. The name of William Gilmore Simms occupies a high place in the records of American literature. Simms is perhaps the best exponent of the literature of the South, and, as a pains-taking and graphic historical novelist, enlists the well-merited respect of readers of all classes. And yet there is scarcely a novel by this author which is not, in a greater or less degree, based upon and illustrative of this partisan aspect of South Carolina annals. Let me refer your readers to the numerous interesting works by this author, for the evidence. And in closing, let me add, that if his prolific pen indulge itself again in a Revolutionary tale, it be permitted to prefix this title: "Chivalry: A Tale; Founded on Facts in the History of South Carolina. From the Provincial Government during the War of the Revolution in the other Colonies, down to May, 1856. By Wm. Gilmore Simms."

W.

DR. ADAMS AND THE TRACT SOCIETY.

WE have waited in hopes that some gentleman, with a proper feeling for the ludicrous, should present, as it deserves, Dr. Adams's plea for a place on the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society. In these times, when Massachusetts has been stung beyond endurance, for a man who has fawned upon the South to claim an influential post in one of the principal associations, because of its subserviency, seems a species of fatuity. We say this in no bitterness of feeling, for these columns contained an eulogistic notice of his Communion volume, as earnest as we could have penned for one of our own brethren. But, this recommendation of himself, and for the most offensive reasons, was by no means the worst. This would have been a solecism among Boston clergymen—especially when his friend, Dr. Kirk, was at hand to give his endorsement to that most questionable bill, Dr. Adams's love of liberty.

But, the grave assembly seems to have been convulsed with laughter when Dr. Adams called for the reading of the newspaper puffs of his unhappily famous apology for Southern oppression; when journal after journal was cited which, by apologizing for the Sumner outrage, had been as deep in the mud as he in the mire, and the necessity of a vote excluding him from misrepresenting New England feeling any longer was made manifest to everybody but himself. Had the New York *Observer* or Boston *Post* detected a whisper in behalf of oppressed humanity in his South-side View, their condemnation of the book would have been just the support which Dr. Adams required, in face of that deeply interesting debate, so fresh in every one's mind, upon the pro-slavery tendency of the Tract Society. But, to bring forward the encomiums of the very journals most untrue to freedom in its present peril, and to urge vehemently that the "South trusted him," was simply deliberate suicide. Every member who voted for the Southern sycophant, after this speech and these volunteered testimonials, was voting himself an apologist for oppression: and we are thankful that so many treated the indelicate appeal with the scorn it deserved, and acted like free men on whom the endangered cause of equal rights had laid a sacred responsibility.—*Christian Register.*

SLAVERY IN THE OLD SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

From The Free Presbyterian.

THE vexed question was brought before this body by the Congregational delegate from Maine. The Moderator of the Assembly responded, and the reporters placed him in a false position. The following is his explanation:

> "The Moderator (Rev. Francis McFarland, D.D., of the Presbytery of Lexington, Va.) said: I beg to be indulged in a few remarks upon a subject in which I am peculiarly interested. Last evening I was greatly surprised to find in the *Commercial Advertiser* of this City a report of my remarks made yesterday, in response to the Delegate from Maine, in which I am made to say: 'As to slavery, sir, I never heard remarks upon the evils of the system which I could not subscribe to' (laughter). The Assembly will bear witness that I never uttered such a sentence. Had I uttered such a sentence, the Assembly would have taken me out of this chair. Had I been considered capable of uttering such a sentence, the Assembly would never have placed me in this chair. If it were believed that any minister had uttered this sentiment, it would destroy his influence in the South.
>
> "Dr. Prime—And in the North, too, sir."

Dr. McFarland also published a card in the *Commercial Advertiser* correcting the blunder of the reporters. Alluding to the above sentiment which they had put in his mouth, he says:

> "The Moderator never uttered such a sentiment—it would constitute him an Abolitionist of the first class, from the principles of whom he utterly dissents. He expressed no opinion of his own, but said 'that he was extensively acquainted in the Southern States, and that he never met with man or woman who did not admit that slavery was an evil, till the abolition controversy drove them, in self-defence, to take different ground.'"

Can pro-slavery truckling go beyond this? Had the Moderator been capable of assenting to remarks on the evils of slavery, he would have been taken out of the Moderator's chair. Had he been considered capable of uttering a conviction that slavery is an evil, he would never have been placed in that chair. To admit that slavery is an evil is a bar to all promotion in the Old School General Assembly. This statement is made from the Moderator's chair, and, so far as appears, not a tongue is lifted in dissent to the disgraceful statement. But then it is consistent with the position of that Assembly since 1845. They then declared slavery to be their corner-stone and bond of union, and of course no one should be permitted to breathe one syllable of opposition to the peculiar institution. To doubt its Divine origin and holy character is to strike at the foundation of the General Assembly; and if a man capable of such treason to slavery should by mistake get into the Moderator's chair, he must expect, so soon as the mistake is discovered, to be dragged out in double quick time! The Old School General Assembly is becoming more and more besotted, in its devotion to slavery, year by year. It is literally "drunk with the wine of the wrath of the fornication" of this great American harlot. How much longer will *Christian* people adhere to such a reprobate body?

The statement which Dr. McFarland *did* make, though very old and stale, is very peculiar and intensely foolish. What he did say was that he never met a man or woman in the South "who did not admit that slavery was an evil, till the abolition controversy drove them, in self-defence, to take different ground." That is, they admitted that slavery was an evil until the Abolitionists of the North arose and agreed with them in that admission, and urged them to put the admitted evil away! Then, in self-defence, they changed ground, ate their own words, stoutly denied that slavery was an evil at all, and began to swear by it as a household god! And this statement is solemnly put forth before a grave assembly of Doctors of Divinity and others, apparently without a suspicion that it represents the men and women of the South as both knaves and fools. Dr. McFarland, of course, would have us believe that they were both honest and intelligent in formerly admitting that slavery is an evil. Did the rise of the abolition controversy, then, change the character of slavery? Is not the present denial by Southern men and women that slavery is an evil both foolish and dishonest? Or, did the magic wand of the Abolitionists touch the unclean devil of slavery and transform it into an angel of light? If the Abolitionists have performed this miraculous service for the slaveholders, in all gratitude they should cease to curse them. Just look at the position in which the statement of Dr. McFarland puts the Southern people. There are men and women who freely admit to the world and to themselves that slavery is a great evil. A society of men and women is formed in the North who say to them, Yes, brethren and sisters of the South, slavery *is* undoubtedly a great evil, and now we propose to do what we can, in a friendly manner, to help you put it away. Let us set about the great work of abolishing this admitted evil at once. But presto! change! The words of these Northern fanatics, or rather their repetition of Southern words, has instantly changed the whole aspect of the case. The Southern people at once rise up and say, "You Northern fanatics are meddling with what you do not understand. Slavery is not [illegible] It is a Divine institution. It is the corner-stone [illegible] our republican institutions. Our churches are based on the conceded principle that it is no bar to Christian communion. Away with your intermeddling! In 'self-defence' we take back our former admission, and affirm that to be good which before we freely and honestly admitted to be evil." It is surely time that *men* should cease uttering such transparent folly.

The Dr. Prime who holds, as reported above, that a man will lose his influence in the North by declaring slavery an evil is the editor of the *New York Observer*, the "Satanic press" of the religious world.

NEW SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SLAVERY.

From The Free Presbyterian.

WE published last week the report adopted by this General Assembly, defining its constitutional power over the subject of slavery. We publish this week a report of the discussion on the question, and also the manifesto of the Southern members of the Assembly. Our readers have thus the means of forming an intelligent opinion for themselves of the position maintained by the New School Presbyterian Church, on the greatest moral, social and political question of the age. Our own opinion of the matter we proceed to state in the two following propositions:

1. The exposition of the constitutional power of the Assembly over the subject, contained in the report of a majority of the committee, and adopted by the Assembly, is, in our judgment, correct in the main.

2. In view of the power asserted by the Assembly, as belonging to itself in this matter, it is guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty in failing to exercise its power in bringing slaveholders, and the advocates of slaveholding, under discipline.

According to their own showing, the General Assembly has power to cite, try and discipline a Synod, when it appears from its records, or it is reported by common fame, that it is guilty of "any important delinquency," or is permitting heretical opinions or corrupt practices to gain ground, or is suffering "offenders of a very gross character to escape." Not only may the Synod be cited and disciplined for such neglect in itself, but also for overlooking such neglect in Presbyteries and Sessions; so, according to the Assembly's own report, it has power to reach, "mediately, but not directly," even a Session or Presbytery. This power the General Assembly has affirmed, by a large majority, belongs to itself. Thus far we agree with that body.

But taking this definition of its own powers and looking at facts in the light of it, and out of its own mouth the Assembly is utterly condemned. Not only does common fame charge members and ministers of the New School Presbyterian Church with heretical opinions, corrupt practices and gross offences, but the discussion on its own floor furnished the Assembly with overwhelming evidence that the charge is literally and exactly true. Bearing in mind the Assembly's own definition of its constitutional powers, let us turn to the discussion and see what are some of the sentiments and practices avowed and defended.

In the first place, both slavery and polygamy are openly and definitely defended from the word of God. The pestilent heresy, "the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man," is avowed and explicitly justified by appeal to the Scriptures. In comparison with this heresy, others which have been deemed grave enough to convulse the Church to its centre, and rend it asunder, are comparatively harmless. In fact, Rome never put forth any heresy more false and wicked than this. One of her crowning sins was trading in slaves and souls of men; which is precisely the same thing as holding property in men. To buy and sell human beings, to make merchandise of men and women, is identical with holding property in man.

But not only is this heresy avowed and defended in theory, but some of the speakers declare that they practically adopt it; that they are living in the guilty relation of owners to their fellow-men. One minister declared that he was a slaveholder from choice. Here, then, is heresy in doctrine and sin in life of the grossest character, publicly, unblushingly, defiantly avowed on the floor of the Assembly, thus confirming, beyond doubt or cavil, the charge against the Southern portion of the New School Presbyterian Church, which "common fame" has been reiterating for years.

But not only is slavery defended and its practice openly avowed in open court before the Assembly, but, as if to show how this leaven of unrighteousness is corrupting men's minds on other subjects, Dr. Ross openly avows that he believes polygamy is sanctioned by the Bible, and calls on the reporters, in tones of defiance, to take down his words, and declares that he is ready to face earth and hell in defence of that opinion. (Probably earth and hell will have no disposition to oppose the Doctor in advocating such views. It suits their purposes too well. Dr. Joel Parker declares that Jesus Christ found no fault with the Roman law, which allowed the master to kill his slave, and feed him to his fish, leaving it to be inferred that Christ, by silence, virtually gave consent to this atrocious enactment, thus blaspheming the blessed Saviour. If Jesus Christ found no fault with such a law in the Roman Empire, we suppose Dr. Parker, who probably does not aspire to be more holy than Jesus, would find no fault with it if enacted in the Southern States, where, in fact, the power of life and death does virtually, if not formally, belong to the master. This same Dr. Parker and others place slavery alongside of marriage and parentage, as all alike ordained of God, and equally pleasing in his sight.

Here, then, are facts brought out in bold relief before the General Assembly, showing that the most dangerous and deadly heresies of modern times are openly defended, and that the highest kind of theft is constantly practised by its ministers and church members. The fact is also brought out that the Synods and Presbyteries and Sessions are doing and intending to do absolutely nothing to bring these heretics and criminals under discipline; that whole Synods and Presbyteries are, in fact, addicted to these very sins and errors. The Assembly proclaims that it has all necessary power to reach these delinquent Synods and Presbyteries; and yet not only does it take no steps looking towards the exercise of discipline over men-stealers and theoretical, if not practical, polygamists, but it recognises these very criminals, on its own floor, as brethren beloved in the Lord, as ministers and elders in good standing in the church; and then North and South together, Abolitionists, slaveholders and moral polygamists, sit down at the same communion board, thus endorsing each other's Christian character "to the fullest extent—to the fullest extent." "Oh, most lame and impotent conclusion!" When will New School Presbyterian papers and Northern ministers cease to talk of the anti-slavery character of their Church, and tell their honest but deceived people the truth?

The *time* in which the New School Assembly is thus solemnly trifling, and the Old School Assembly is proclaiming anew its fealty to slavery, adds additional enormity to their conduct. The Assemblies sat in the month of May. In the same month slavery was enacting a series of outrages in Kansas, which, for cold-blooded brutality and fiendish cruelty, have scarcely a parallel on the page of history. Let us look at the two scenes together. "Look on this picture and on this." On the one hand we see a grave assembly of professed ministers of the living God listening complacently and approvingly to the declaration of their Moderator, that if he should assent to the opinion that slavery is a great evil, he would be dragged out of the Moderator's chair. On the floor of another assembly of the same character, days are spent in listening to laboured defences of slavery as an institution of God's ordaining and approving, which defences are heard almost without rebuke; and the Assembly recognises the defenders as *honest* Christians; thus completely endorsing the system. This is one picture; behold another: On the soil of Kansas this same institution, slavery, may be seen, with torch and cannon, with bowie-knife and pistol, burning and robbing houses, stealing horses, driving women and children from their homes and shooting at them as they fly, murdering men and boys in cold blood, and committing rapes on helpless females. Thus slavery shows, in the light of burning villages, what manner of spirit it is of; and writes in the blood of freedom's martyrs the record of its own infernal wickedness. And yet grave Doctors of Divinity, and dignified General Assemblies, proclaim that slavery is sanctioned by the word of God!

Is it strange that infidelity is overspreading the land? "The tree is known by its fruit." The world sees the fruits of slavery in the Kansas outrages; and hence, if the professed ministers of Christ succeed in persuading the people that slavery is sanctioned by the Bible, they will have gone very far in persuading them that the Bible is the Devil's own book.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

IT is curious to see how the question of slavery has driven every other question out of the field. During the past two weeks it has intruded itself everywhere. Its dark and portentous form appeared in the prayer-meetings of all the denominations, at the social festivals, and at the Missionary, Tract and Bible Societies—so that whatever else was said, this was certain to be a topic of discussion. And this is the result of all the zealous efforts of Union-savers to put a stop to agitation! Fools and blind! not to see that the danger came, not from the discussion of slavery, but from slavery itself, and that as long as this poisonous element exists, there can be no safety either to the Union or to liberty.

Amid the gloom and darkness of the present hour, one rather amusing scene occurred at the meeting of the Tract Society last week, in the old South Chapel. As they were proceeding to vote in the election of officers, Mr. Kirk rose, and desired to be heard. He called attention to the fact that the name of Dr. Nehemiah Adams was omitted on one of the tickets, and presumed that this was intended as a punishment of Dr. Adams for writing the "South-side View of Slavery." He thought this was persecution. He had conversed with Dr. Adams, and *was satisfied that his opinions on the slavery question were sound!*

This endorsement, however, of the opinions of Mr. Adams by Mr. Kirk seemed (strangely enough) not to satisfy the fanatical gentlemen who were present. Perhaps they thought that inasmuch as Dr. Adams has printed his views, and they are known to all, the only thing to be inferred from Mr. Kirk's endorsement of them is that Mr. Kirk's own views are much the same. After some gentlemen had expressed the opinion that Dr. Adams did not properly represent the sentiments of New-England on this subject, and others had expressed the opinion that it would be persecution to displace him, Dr. Adams asked permission to speak for himself, and spoke (it is said) for nearly an hour. His speech seems to have contributed greatly to the entertainment of the evening. He begged hard to be allowed to remain a member of the Publishing Committee. He promised that when the subject of slavery came before the Committee, he would go as far as the extremest man in the room in expressing his opinions in regard to it. He would be as fair a representative of the opinions of New England upon the subject of slavery as any man in the room. All this, however, did not appear to give satisfaction. For *there was the book*, and there were his opinions in the book, and, such being his opinions, it was little comfort to be told that he would express them freely. Those were just the opinions which they did not wish to have expressed.

So Dr. Adams had recourse to another argument. He said it seemed to him that *Providence had made it peculiarly fitting* that he should be a member of that Committee (great merriment). He had the confidence of the South and the South-West on the subject of slavery (renewed laughter). "Now the South know me," said the speaker, "as a member of the Publication Committee. They say, 'here is a New England man whose opinions will not offend us.'" The speaker thought that was a good qualification for a member of that Committee.

But as even this argument, drawn from the purposes of Providence, and claiming that Dr. Adams was put on the Committee by a Divine plan, might not be sufficient, Dr. Adams asked leave to have some testimonials to the value of his book read. Permission was readily granted, and the opinions were read. The first person quoted from was Hon. Rufus Choate, at which a ripple of laughter went through the audience. Hon. Joel Giles was next cited, and then came the Boston *Courier*, whose announcement was greeted with a shout of laughter, and something that sounded very much like hissing. The Boston *Post's* opinion was next quoted, and was greeted with another shout of merriment, as was also the New York *Observer*, and the name of Rev. Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, New York. After some further talk, the Society proceeded to vote, and the result was that Dr. Stone, of this city, was elected in place of Dr. Adams, by fifty-six votes to forty-three. Some say that Dr. Adams owed his defeat to his own speech, begging for reëlection. But whatever the cause may be, the result is creditable to the members of the Society. We observe that the *Independent* argues, that after this rejection, he has no right to continue a member of the New York Society's Committee.—*Bost. Cor. Christian Inquirer.*

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

NOTWITHSTANDING the indignation which the recent outrages in Washington and Kansas have excited, there are many persons who argue thus: "It is all owing to those fanatical Abolitionists. If the South had not been irritated by what has been done and said at the North, these things would not have happened." What admirable logicians. What shrewd tracers of connection between cause and effect are these. What an able defence of their own position of lukewarmness and indifference is here offered. According, then, to these earnest deprecators of anti-slavery agitation, the spirit cherished by Southern institutions is singularly peaceable. The Slave Power is never inclined to encroach upon the rights of freemen, the influences under which the Southern master is reared being admirably adapted to rebuke any such tendency. It has never been domineering or arrogant, or shown a desire to extend its political power, at least until the Anti-Slavery movement commenced at the North in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-two; the Missouri Compromise, to say nothing of the admission into the Union of Florida, Louisiana, and other slave States, involving, of course, no reference to points about which the North had any reason for complaint. It has always insisted that slavery is exclusively the concern of the slave States, and has never required that the Government, for whose action the free States are in part responsible, should interfere either to favour or extend it. True, since eighteen hundred and thirty-two, the South has been goaded to some acts which have provoked indignation in some quarters.

But can we wonder at this? Even the gentlest creatures, when trampled on, will offer resistance. True, during the very years when the South was forced into rather extreme measures, the Abolitionists were not very numerous, nor very popular, even at the North, if certain accounts of the mobbing of Garrison and his disciples in various cities, and the killing of Lovejoy, were true; still, how can one wonder that the patience of our Southern brethren at last gave out, and that, driven at first to the measures just refered to, it should finally have been forced, purely in self-defence, to repeal the Missouri Compromise, and to declare afterwards that Kansas must be made a slave State?

The Abolitionists have done it all. At the doors of anti-slavery agitators lies the chief blame.

The bare statement of this by no means rarely expressed opinion is its sufficient confutation. We cannot, however, forbear adding that this mode of reasoning is by no means novel. There have been in all ages those who could pardon nothing to the spirit of liberty, but everything to its opposite. Tyranny has always found its defenders among men who could see nothing to blame but the occasional extravagance of lovers of liberty. When the tidings came to the Netherlands that the Duke of Alva was at hand, undoubtedly there were some who, though as much opposed as anybody to Spanish tyranny, said to earnest Protestant patriots, See what your enthusiastic zeal and imprudence have brought upon us. If you had not provoked Philip, and had been cautious and waited patiently for the gradual progress of civilization and intelligence to do away the evils of which you complain, this woe, this civil war, would have been averted. How many quiet, peace-loving people in Luther's day, not only among those who had been in the habit of speculating freely, and within certain limits preaching freely, and who found that since the Protestant agitation they were obliged to be silent, but among those who were the victims of the inquisition and the peasant war, must have spoken in the same way of the great German Reformer. If Luther had not provoked the Romish Church, she never would have thought of doing what she did against the Protestants.

A similar principle holds true in our own time, and we are not, indeed, sure that it is not "conscientiously" adhered to by many Americans in reference to liberal movements in Europe. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples do not tyrannize over their subjects from native cruelty, necessarily, but because, as their defenders would say, they are forced to do so by the injudicious zeal, the constant attempts at agitation on the part of Mazzini and his followers. If these latter would only let the poor country have peace, and attend to their own business, and strive to allay rather than foment excitement, and shun everything that may irritate the ruling powers, the latter would adopt a very different course from that which they pursue at present.

We have little doubt that there is a large number of those in our own country who believe that it is not Slavery, but *Anti*-Slavery, which is the great agitator, the great cause of the excitement and ill-blood which are everywhere prevalent. Still, it must be difficult for such to decide what is to be done in the premises to ward off the evils which must be in store for us if the North goes on as it has in irritating the South. Might it not be a good plan to have great Union-saving meetings in our large cities, at which resolutions should be adopted of a conciliatory nature? Might not some be passed which should beg our Southern friends to understand that, in the view of the more sober, and intelligent, and conservative classes of the community, the aggressions, the violence, the provocations which our Southern brethren have received from the great mass of Northern citizens amply excuse any occasional warmth into which the former may have been hurried? Might there not be added to these an earnest entreaty, begging them not to let tidings of meetings of a somewhat different character, held lately in New York, Boston, Worcester, and other cities, force them to be so unkind as to treat their Senators as Sumner has been treated, to deal with other towns in Kansas as Lawrence has been dealt with? We are by no means certain that our hint will be acted upon, and yet, were such a meeting held, and such "peace measures" adopted, we are confident that they would fairly express opinions and dispositions which, notwithstanding all that has been said of resistance to further aggressions of the Slave Power, are far too rife among us.—*Christian Inquirer.*

FREEDOM AND SUGAR.

From The Tribune.

THE *New York Herald*, in an elaborate article on the history and prospects of the sugar trade, after giving an account of the decline of the sugar cultivation in Hayti, proceeds as follows:

> "We have not space, or we could show from official documents that abolitionism has, in the same manner, worked the ruin and desolation of the British West India Islands. But fanaticism hearkens to no reason, it ignores the commerce, the common sense, and the life, liberty, happiness and comfort of whites, for the one black idea of sinking all for the less than doubtful benefit, or we might say for the ultimate ruin, of the negroes themselves, and with them the common ruin of the whites, to accomplish the work of their insane crusade."

This is a fair specimen, not only of the "fanaticism," but of the absurd ignorance or reckless falsehood with which, from day to day, the story of the "ruin" of the West Indians is repeated, and that not merely in partisan political pro-slavery Southern prints, but in journals which make pretensions to commercial intelligence and commercial accuracy. Now see how a few simple facts will detect and expose this declamatory falsehood—as base, considering the objects for which it is repeated, as it is baseless of one fact to stand upon. We have before us a return, made by order of Parliament, of the imports of sugar into Great Britain for the twenty-one years from 1820 to 1840 inclusive. The largest importation of West India sugars into Great Britain in these twenty-one years was in 1828, and amounted to 210,621 tuns, which was the largest import ever made from the British West Indies in any one year. The average export of the fifteen years preceding the abolition of slavery, including the year 1834—that is, the average of the last fifteen years of slavery—was somewhat less than 192,000 tuns annually. The average of the four years of apprenticeship—1855-8—was about 174,000 tuns. In the early years of complete freedom the product fell off to an average of about 120,000 tuns, and in one year, the second of entire emancipation, sunk to 108,000. Since then the annual product has been gradually rising, and, according to *The Herald's* own statement, it was, in 1854, 172,200 tuns; in 1855, 170,000; and the crop of 1856, now nearly completed, is estimated at 175,000 tuns. While slavery lasted, the consumption in the British West Indies of sugar of their production was very small. Sugar was not used at all except by the trifling number of white inhabitants, and their consumption was principally not of the raw muscovado, but of loaf-sugar, imported from England. Now the domestic consumption of sugar is quite as large per head as in England, and, adding this to the amount exported, it is plain that the British West Indies, with all the nonsense talked about their "ruin," produce now as much sugar as they did in slavery times. What is more: that product has been for some years steadily on the increase, and is likely to continue so. It is only in Jamaica where any deficit, as compared with the times of slavery, remains. In the other Colonies the product is actually larger than ever. Trinidad is at this moment shipping the largest sugar crop that island ever produced. Even in Jamaica itself a recent change for the better is very manifest. A new system of management and prompt pay to the labourers are developing the resources of that island: and no doubt there, as elsewhere, the rising price of sugar will give a fresh impulse to its production. The very last news from that island contained the following item:

> "From St. James and Trelawny, we are informed that the pastures and cane-fields have been materially benefited—that they look green, cheering, and full of promise. *What is equally, if not more, gratifying is that the labourers are industrious, and that the best feeling prevails between managers and workmen.*"

So much for the "ruin" of the whites. As to the "ultimate ruin" of the negroes themselves, to be accomplished by the "insane crusade" of emancipation, the fact recently stated by the Grand Jury of Bermuda—that the people of that island generally are in a progressively improving condition, a large amount of intelligence being developed among them by the facilities afforded for mental and moral culture—this statement, thus officially made as to Bermuda, applies also with equal force to all the other emancipated Colonies.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER STILL.

From The Syracuse Journal.

THE KIDNAPPED AND THE RANSOMED: being the Personal Recollections of Peter Still and his Wife Vina, after Forty Years of Slavery. By Mrs. Kate E. R. Pickard; with an introduction by Rev. Samuel J. May, and an Appendix by William H. Furness, D.D. Syracuse: W. T. Hamilton. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan.

MUCH as we had expected from this volume, the perusal of it has more than answered our expectations. Most of the incidents of the lives of the principal subjects of this narrative, we had heard from "Uncle Peter and Vina" themselves; and we feared that when put into an order and costume suitable for publication, they would lose much of their raciness and self-evident authenticity. But the writer has entered so sympathetically into the wrongs and sufferings of these genuine excellent persons, that she has given their recollections, thoughts and emotions in her own easy, graceful style, excepting where their statements of the most harrowing events of their lives were untranslatable, and in such instances she has been very successful in giving us their peculiar dialect, more expressive than any accurate English would have been.

No one who had not lived in the midst of slaves and slaveholders, as Mrs. Pickard has done, could have made so intelligible to us as she has, many occurrences that are wrought into this narrative. This volume is not less, if it is not more, interesting than any to which the anti-slavery agitation in our country has given birth. It contributes much new information respecting the peculiarities of that "peculiar institution" which now overtops the very Constitution of our Republic, and is subordinating everything to itself. It opens to us the more hidden chambers of the dread prison-house, in which four millions of the people of our country are bound. Some phases of the life of the slaveholder, as well as the slave, are herein set forth, as they have not been before, especially the sufferings of the female slaves from the lust of masters and overseers, and the consequent jealousy of their wives. Oh! there is a foul stream of sexual licentiousness running continually through the families of slaveholders, as well as over their plantations. Having set utterly at nought the sacredness of marriage among the subjects of their despotisms, they are left to desecrate, as they may, their own connubial ties. A Southern lady once said to a friend of ours, in a tone of indescribable bitterness, "the wife of a slaveholder is but the chief of his Harem." This, this is the blackness of that darkness which has settled upon the Southern States, and is throwing its pestilential shadows over our whole Confederacy. The selfishness and cruelty, as well as profligacy, which are characteristics of the ascendant influence that rules our Republic, incidentally appear in this narrative, as they exhibit themselves without restraint in their nurseries—the Southern plantations.

In the appendix to this volume is given, by Rev. Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia, a sketch of the life of a noble man—Seth Conklin, who attempted, and almost effected, the escape of Vina and her family from the hands of their oppressors. The accomplishment of his generous purpose and heroic enterprise, was owing to the consummate meanness of certain creatures in the shape of men in Indiana, who, Judas-like, for the sake of money, betrayed the panting fugitives, and their generous deliverer.

If the publication of such thrilling narratives as this, and the outrages committed by slaveholders in the very halls of Congress, do not rouse the people of the non slaveholding States, with one accord, not only to withstand the aggressions of these Republican despots, but to break up their tyrannies, then may we look to a day, not distant, when, under Mr. Buchanan or some other servile Northerner, the threat of Senator Douglas, "we will subdue you," shall be literally fulfilled, and Senator Toombs may call the roll of his slaves upon Bunker Hill, or the plains of Saratoga.

QUINCY.

EDWARD EVERETT.

From The Tribune.

MR. EVERETT is a hardly-used man, it must be owned. Monkey's allowance, as the sailors call it, is what he chiefly gets on all sides. We do not think him at all an ill-disposed man. He would willingly be on the right side, if he were quite sure it were going to be the winning one as well. And he would be oftener than he is where he ought always to be, were it not that he lacks that instantaneousness of perception and quickness of determination which is essential to a genuine success in life. He has missed many opportunities when he might not only have done virtuously, but have done wisely in his generation, too—when he would have found the right to be great gain into the bargain. Such a chance he lost at Boston, the other day, when he refused to attend the Sumner indignation meeting. There never was a time when he missed it more egregiously by "letting I dare not wait upon I would, like the poor cat in the adage." We dare say he "would," but he "dared not" take the responsibility of such a step, without consulting with a quantity of barren Boston fogies, and calculating the cost of an action not regularly set down and numbered in the *programme* of respectable performances.

Well, for this refusal he found but little mercy at the hands of the North. Even Whigs, excepting the very few whose eyes are sealed with judicial blindness, blamed him for withholding himself from so obvious a duty. They saw the capital which might have been made by it for himself and them, and how what had slipped through his fingers inured to the benefit of Gov. Gardner and even of the Republicans. Scarcely a voice was raised in his behalf, except by *The Daily Advertiser* or his brother-in-law, and that put the defence merely on the state of his health, if we recollect aright, and his withdrawal from public life. The Senate of Connecticut reconsidered the joint resolution which it had passed in concurrence with the House, inviting him to deliver his Eulogy on Washington before them, on the express ground of this refusal. The mistake was but too plain, as soon as it was too late. On the earliest opportunity, which happened to be at Taunton, in Massachusetts, by the banks of that stream of which the water is proverbially "too weak to run down hill," he took occasion to define his position in some well-turned and emphatic sentences; but, excellent as were the sentiments and admirable as was their setting, men could not but reflect that the strength which was enough for Taunton would have sufficed also for Faneuil Hall, and that the one occasion was no more a public action than the other. It was an excuse, but no exculpation. Such feelings should have taken no counsel of flesh and blood, but have burst forth, irrepressible in their utterance. The words were good; we dare say they expressed the feelings of the speaker; but the fitting place was wanting, and the fitting time had passed by. The apples might be of gold, but they lacked the pictures of silver to set them off.

If Mr. Everett's refusal to speak in Faneuil Hall had any latent South-side views, which we by no means affirm (since he has definitively retired from public life), his Taunton prologue dispersed any chance of help from that quarter toward "the swelling out of an imperial theme." The slaveholders will endure no divided duty. They suffer no man to serve any other master than themselves, and even to their most faithful servants they often give stripes for their reward—as Pierce and Douglas know to their cost. However early a man may have shouldered his musket and buckled on his knapsack in their service, he is always treated as a deserter the moment he holds back from implicit obedience to their latest orders. We all remember the ovation which Mr. Everett received at Richmond, four little months ago—the speeches of Gov. Wise and of John Tyler—the unanimous flatteries of the Richmond press. The tigers' paws were all velvet, and more gentle, harmless animals could hardly be imagined. But no sooner does the cockered orator utter the words, "an act of lawless violence has stained the floor of the Senate Chamber with the blood of an unarmed, defenceless man, and he a Senator of Massachusetts," than the cruel instinct of the treacherous savage starts to life, the claws are unsheathed in an instant and aimed at the throat of him they were caressing but just before. Read what *The Richmond Enquirer* has to say of Mr. Everett now:

> "There is no circumstance of this affair which so mortifies and humiliates respectable people as the conduct of Edward Everett. And to think that all this hypocrisy is attached as an exordium to a eulogy on the character of George Washington! The tongue that can wail over the prostrate body of an infamous Abolitionist is not worthy to name the name of George Washington. Mr. Everett should accept the offer of the professional rhetorician, and henceforth have his polished periods declaimed by a substitute. He is unfit to speak in the name of the ladies of Virginia, and we trust the managers of the Mount Vernon enterprise will dispense with his services. Everett a mourner at Sumner's fictitious funeral! In the end, the most pompous plausibilities will be stripped of their disguise, and exposed to the contempt and ridicule of the world."

And this is all the thanks Mr. Everett gets for remembering to forget that Washington had ever been a slaveholder, and for forgetting to remember that he emancipated his slaves by his will! Truly, the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!

Mr. Everett has been a conspicuous figure in the public eye for more than forty years. But his life has been a brilliant failure—a success full of disappointment. After youthful successes at school and the university, which caused him to be saluted as *Princeps Juventutis*, he stepped from college at nineteen years of age into one of the chief prizes of the profession he had chosen—the pulpit of Brattle street Church. Tiring of this in a year or two, the professorship he desiderates is given to him, and he is allowed two years in Europe for preparation. The two years are extended to five, which he spends with every advantage for improvement and gratification. He returns to light duties for three years or so, and then is elected to Congress, where he remains ten years. Thence he is carried to the chair of the Governor of Massachusetts, and keeps it for four years. The Whig triumph of 1840 sent him to the Court of St. James for four years more. The Presidency of Harvard University drops for him just as he returns; and when he is aweary of that, the Senate of the United States and a brief Premiership under Mr. Fillmore wind up a career of singular good fortune. His path has been one bright with flowers, but over them has flowed the "*amari aliquid*," the drop of bitter which has turned them into thorns. The palace of his prosperity, one would think, was as complete in its perfection and in its refinements as that the Genie builded for Aladdin; but, alas, like that, the Roc's Egg is wanting to give the last grace to its dome, and without it all the rest is vanity. Like other men of parts and ambition, like his great master, Webster, he will be condemned to see others enter into the kingdom, while he is sent empty away. In vain was his early homage to the Fountain of our Honours; in vain his allegiance to the Fugitive Slave law and the Compromises; in vain his anti-slavery geographical demonstration about Kansas; in vain his felicities of forgetfulness as to Washington: the first word he utters in reproof of a murderous slaveholding bully, and all is as if it had never been, and he is unto the South as Sumner, as Parker, or even as Garrison! And when he dies, after this long course of outward success and inward disappointment, what will he leave behind him? An example for the warning of ambitious selfishness in his life, and in his works a few truly admirable passages for the declamation of school boys.

O'CONNELL AND BISHOP HUGHES.

From The Tribune.

ARCHBISHOP HUGHES related the following anecdote of his first conference with the Irish Liberator in his late Lecture on "The Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell":

> "The first time I met him was in London, and I was introduced with a determination to have a struggle with him on a certain question—that was on the asperity, I thought, with which he spoke of certain social institutions in this country; and I told him, after the ordinary introduction, 'You are not surprised, Mr. O'Connell, that while you have many friends in America, you have some who are much displeased with certain of your public remarks.' And he asked, 'What?' 'Well,' I replied, 'they think you are too severe upon the institution for which the present generation, or the present Government of America, is by no means responsible—I mean slavery.' He paused and said, 'It would be strange, indeed, if I should not be the friend of the slave throughout the world—I, who was born a slave myself.' He silenced me, although he did not convince me."

When a man tells a story wholly against himself, the presumption is very strong that he tells it correctly. We feel sure, therefore, that the Archbishop has not misrecollected the encounter in which he admits that he was silenced by his great fellow-countryman.

The Archbishop volunteered the information to the orator that "the present generation, or the present Government of America, is by no means responsible" for American slavery. If he meant that they were not responsible for its *origin*, the remark was a truism; but if he intended to be understood as denying the responsibility of our present slaveholders and the governments they control for the continuance of slaveholding through our own time and beyond it, then we submit that the priest sought to mislead the politician. Who *is* responsible for the continuance of slavery if not they who continue it?

But mark the nobleness of the Liberator's "silencing" retort: "It would be strange, indeed, if I should not be the friend of the slave throughout the world—I, who was born a slave myself." True words, manfully spoken, Dan. O'Connell! They honour you more than any star or garter that Queen Victoria could have given you, with the superadded title of Lord O'Connell or Duke of Derrynane. But what a quiet, cutting rebuke for the Archbishop! He, too, was "born a slave," and only escaped from slavery as a fugitive—not by courageously, patiently, toilsomely fighting his way out of it, like the other. The politician felt and acted like the Good Samaritan who found the "certain man" who "went down to Jericho" and "fell among thieves," stripped, wounded, and half dead by the wayside, and proved a true neighbour to him, while Priest and Levite "passed by on the other side." They did not, however, resolve to "have a struggle" with the Samaritan, nor tell him they were "much displeased" with his conduct—they had the grace to keep silent and go on their timid, shuffling, selfish way as quietly as possible. Alas, that nineteen centuries should have made no improvement in the class, but the reverse!

How many of the Irish in America can read O'Connell's cutting rebuke of the Archbishop and truly say, "This does not touch *me*?"

BENTON ON THE ADMINISTRATION.

[THOMAS H. BENTON, having accepted from his wing of the Missouri Democracy a nomination to the Governorship of the State, recently made a political speech at St. Louis. We present a few racy extracts.]

CINCINNATI CONVENTION AND ITS COHORT OF POLITICAL EUNUCHS.

I WENT to Cincinnati to be near that Convention—the first one I ever approached. I went to see how things were done, and to assist a little at a safe nomination. I found a garrison of officeholders inside of the Convention, and a besieging army of the same gentry on the outside of it. Packed delegates were there, sent to betray the people. Straw delegates were there, coming from the States which could give no Democratic vote. Members of Congress were there, although forbid by their duties from being at such a place. A cohort of office-holders were there, political eunuchs in the Federal system, incapable of voting for the smallest Federal office, yet sent there by the Administration to impose a President upon the people.

It was a scandalous collection, excluded by the Constitution from being even electors of the President, and yet sent there to vote for the Administration—and to vote upon the principle of the ox that knoweth his master's crib—upon the principle of the ass that knoweth the hand that feedeth him. Bullies were there from the Custom House and the Five Points, in New York—all with the approbation of the Administration; for the officeholders would not be there (absent from their duties, and drawing their pay) without the consent of their employers. It was a scandalous collection. The members of Congress were in the double breach of their duties. They were neglecting their legislative duties, and doing what they had been interdicted from doing.

Such was the composition of nearly one-half of the whole Convention—custom-house officers, postmasters, salaried clerks, packed delegates, straw delegates, political eunuchs, members of Congress, district attorneys, federal marshals. The place in which they met, and which had been provided by a packed Administration committee, was worthy of the meeting. It was a sort of den, approached by a long, narrow passage, barricaded by three doors, each door guarded by armed bullies, with orders to knock down any person that approached without a ticket from the committee—and a special order to be prepared with arms to repulse the Missouri delegation which came to vote for Buchanan—a repulse which they attempted, and got themselves knocked down and trampled under foot.

THE DEN IN WHICH IT WAS HELD.

This den had no windows by which people could look in, or see, or the light of the sun enter—only a row of glass like a steamboat skylight, thirty-five feet above the floor. It was the nearest representation of the "black hole" in Calcutta, and, like that hole, had well-nigh become notorious for a similar catastrophe. The little panes of glass above were hung on pivots, and turned flat to let in air. A rain came on, drove into the den, and, to exclude it, the panes were turned up. Smothering! smothering! was the cry in the den; and the glass had to be turned up again. Over this place was a small box for the admission of spectators, its approach barricaded and guarded, and entrance only obtained upon tickets from the same packed committee, and to whom they gave tickets was seen when the first votes were given for Buchanan, and when each State that voted for him was hissed—even Virginia; and the hissing only stopped by a threat to clear the galleries. Such is the pass to which the nomination of President is now brought.

THE UNPRECEDENTED DEFEAT OF PIERCE BY HIS OWN PARTY.

No President, seeking a second election, has ever been so repudiated before. Several, so seeking, have been defeated by their adversaries, but no one has been defeated by his own party. The elder Mr. Adams was defeated by the Democratic party, then called Republican; the younger Mr. Adams was defeated by the same party; Mr. Van Buren was defeated by the Whigs. But each of these gentlemen had the consolation of having preserved the respect and confidence of his own party. Not so with Mr. Pierce. He is repudiated by those who had exalted him. After four years' trial, he is condemned and thrown away—the victim of his advisers. It is the most humiliating termination of a public career that ever was witnessed. His whole vote was some sixty—only five dozen out of near three hundred; and if from these are deducted the intrusive votes which ought not to be counted—those of the officeholders, the packed delegates, the straw delegates, the members of Congress and the complimentary votes which were begged for him to lessen the shame of the miserable defeat—if all these were deducted, as they ought to be, he would be left without a single vote—left to go out as he came in, with the unanimous consent of his party. What a fate for a man who came into office upon twenty-seven States, with two-thirds of each House of Congress, and the united Democracy of the whole Union. After all, the result was due to the *place* where the Convention was held. If it had been in Baltimore, where the outside pressure would have been on the other side, the officeholders would have carried the day.

Let it not be forgotten that the *place* governed this nomination—the place convenient to the solid men of the country; but that cannot be relied upon to save future nominations. The old intriguers—the permanent professional President-makers—will not be caught in such a place again. They will go where the farmers cannot come; and there is no safety except in the amendment of the Constitution, and giving to the people a direct vote for President. Already it is reported that they go next time to Charleston, S. C., where no Western farmers can get at them. If you ask how can this be known now? I answer, very well. Each Convention now appoints a committee of its own body, thirty-one in number, to sit from four years to four years, and manage everything. These committees do the cheating in the recess of the Conventions.

Such a fall announces the most deplorable Administration which our country has ever seen; and such is the fact. At home and abroad—in all its acts and policy, both foreign and domestic—flagrant misconduct has been the order of the day. The field of its bad acts is too large to admit of a full survey on an occasion like the present; I can only seize and present the most prominent, taking those which concern our home affairs first—the foreign afterwards; but, first, I must show who I mean by the Administration, for it by no means consists of all whose names compose it.

BENTON'S ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH PIERCE.

In the first place, then, I do not mean Mr. Pierce. I leave him out, entirely. He is a kind man, tender-hearted, and will cry for anybody's sorrows; but he has neither head nor nerve, and is as helpless in the hands of his managers as a babe in the arms of its nurse. I have to give a signal instance of this helplessness which concerns yourself as well as myself, and which admits of no question because I was party to it, and know what I say. Mr. Pierce sent for me soon after his inauguration, desiring me to call upon him the next evening at 8 o'clock. I went according to the request. He told me he wished to speak to me about the Missouri appointments, and know if they could not be put off for a while? I answered, yes—that they were all four years appointments, and to be out, of themselves, in the course of the Spring and Summer—that I despised the business of removing men who were doing their business well, and whose terms would soon expire, and had rather wait for the vacancy to come of itself. He replied that these were exactly his own sentiments; and it was readily agreed that the appointments should stand over until my return from Missouri, which would be in six weeks.

On this agreement, thus volunteered by himself, I left the city, and in two weeks was followed by a list of the appointments—and you know what kind of appointments they were—all made from my enemies, and to work in the election against me—a thing which they have faithfully done, and are still doing. Even the post-office in my own town was so filled as to render it impossible for me to use it, and drove me to the resource of sending my correspondence through Adams & Co. This is what happened between the President and myself, and is one of innumerable instances to prove his nullity in his own administration. I did not get angry with him for it. I knew he was sincere at the time he spoke with me and pitied his inability to keep his own word voluntarily given. I expressed no resentment, because I knew they would not let him do as he wished; but self-respect required me to avoid his house—and I have not been there since. Still, we meet handsomely when accident brings us together, sometimes meeting in evening rides, when the respective hats immediately rise high in the air—sometimes on foot, in an evening walk, when we rush to the salutation and so pressingly that an observer might suppose it was a pair of old bosom friends Damon and Pythias—just getting together again after a long and cruel separation.

HIS OPINION OF MARCY, DAVIS AND CUSHING.

In the next place, I do not mean Mr. Marcy. He leaves himself out by permitting others to dominate in his department, and by publicly agreeing to what he privately condemns. I leave out also the Secretaries of the Treasury, of the Interior, of the Navy, and the Postmaster-General, and only condemn them for remaining in a Cabinet in which they are without influence, and sharing the odium of measures of which they have no part in the paternity. This brings me to the Secretary of War and the Attorney-General, who, with an outside force of determined nullifiers, are the whole Administration. But little need be said of the Secretary of War. He is a martinet, puffed up with West Point science, dogmatical and pragmatical, within his circle; but that circle is a narrow one, and he moves uncontrolled with it. He is an avowed secessionist.

Of the outside force of nullifiers still less remains to be said. They govern when they please, and always in the same style—by presenting a menacing front. Of all these the Attorney-General is the master-spirit. He is a man of talent, of learning, of industry—unscrupulous, double sexed, double gendered, and hermaphroditic in politics—with a hinge in his knee, which he often crooks, "that thrift may follow fawning." He governs by subserviency; and to him is deferred the master's place in Mr. Pierce's Cabinet. When I heard that he was to come into the Cabinet, I sat down Mr. Pierce for a doomed man, and foresaw the swift and full destruction which was to fall upon him. I had known Mr. Cushing as an Abolitionist, voting against Arkansas because she was a slave State, and backing Slade of Vermont, in the attempt to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. I have known him as a Whig, attacking the Democracy and all their measures—and as a Tylerite, auctioneering offices for Tyler as long as he had an office to go to the hammer. I could have no faith in an Administration so led, and foretold its calamitous fate from the moment it was seen who was to be in it.

CINCINNATI PLATFORM COMPARED TO A DOSE OF IPECAC.

Citizens! I have told you of the attempts to kill off Mr. Buchanan in the Convention under the two-thirds rule; there was another attempt, of a different kind, to do the same thing. It was with a platform—a patibulary structure—with a rope over the head, and a trap-door under the feet—and so contrived that if he got on it, he was strung up in the North; if not, he was laid out in the South. His friends found out the game, and determined to mount it, be it what it might. They said the President does not swear to platforms, but to the Constitution; and, besides, it is lawful to fight fire with fire. It was concocted by the old janissaries, and produced at the moment the balloting was to commence—so as to make disorder in the ranks; but the trick failed. It was received in a tempest of emulous applause, and extolled to the skies. I asked one of the most vociferous of these applauders how he could swallow such stuff? He answered promptly, "*as I do ipecac! to puke it up again.*" It was a New Yorker, of course, who gave that *naive* answer; and I am sure his stomach would feel the cleaner after the relief.

Citizens! this business of making platforms is a new invention, unknown to the old Democracy, who had no platform but the Constitution—no aim but the public good; and they are generally the work of demagogues who have no thought of the Constitution—no thought of the country—no thought of anything but to get office, and keep it—changing for that purpose with every change of administration—and swearing to every creed that runs an hour. It has been my prerogative to kick over these platforms. I was bred in a political school in which they were unknown. The Constitution was the only platform known in my school—and the only one to which I swear. If one is made beyond the Constitution, it is surplusage; if short of the Constitution, it is defective; if different from the Constitution, it is void; if the same, it is superfluous. In any event, then, these platforms are, to me, useless—to many, pestiferous—to their authors, stocked-cards, which they throw away when the game is won.

A PLEDGE AND ITS FULFILMENT.

SOME twenty-three years ago, Dr. Beecher and his ten associates, the Faculty of Lane Seminary, held frequent meetings with their pupils to induce them to disband their Anti-Slavery Society and abandon their anti-slavery efforts, which were rendering the Seminary exceedingly unpopular. Earnestly and familiarly, on one occasion, Dr. Beecher said: "Boys, you are right in your views, but most impracticable in your measures. Mining and quiet strategy are ordinarily better, as well as safer, methods of taking a city than to do it by storm. It is not always wise to take a bull by the horns. You are right, but in your way you can't succeed. If you should succeed, I will be with you, swing my hat and shout hurra!"

All this, with the Doctor's sparkling eye, his face and gesture, were most distinctly before me, as, at the commencement of the meeting spoken of above [the meeting at the Tremont Temple in Boston, to denounce the outrage upon Senator Sumner], my eye, all unexpectedly, rested upon the old man standing there upon the front of the platform, his hat swinging in mid air, and he shouting with the utmost compass of his now feeble voice, hurra! hurra! hurra! and again repeating this expression of his young enthusiasm.

Be assured, dear reader, that, not having seen the venerable man before for a score of years, the reminiscence of the past, combined with the circumstances of the present, came upon me with oppressive interest. This was by no means relieved by the thought that long as the old man had waited to redeem his pledge, his noble impulses had crowded him forward to swing his hat and shout *too soon*. For, alas! we have not yet "succeeded." Then the Lane Seminary students were in conflict with their theological instructors for the right of free speech; and to-day, after a quarter of a century's struggle, Charles Sumner lies bleeding, a noble martyr to his heroic exercise of this right most dear to all freemen and most hated by all tyrants. When free speech is established, the jubilee will have come.—*Letter from Marius R. Robinson, one of the Lane Seminary "Rebels," to the Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1856.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair.

THE Twenty-first Anti-Slavery Fair of Pennsylvania will be held in the City of Philadelphia, on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of December, 1856.

At such a time as this, when the most startling national events are pleading the cause of Freedom, with eloquence beyond that of words, there is little need that we should accompany this announcement with arguments or expostulations, urging the claims of our Annual Fair. We doubt not that all those who have, heretofore, faithfully laboured in it will, this year, resume those labours, with increased zeal and diligence, and that many who have never espoused our cause before will now be impelled, by their burning indignation at the outrages which are filling our beloved country with anarchy and disgracing her before the civilized world, to come to the help of those who are striving to remove *the cause* of all this evil—AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The signs of the times are full of promise, and demonstrate, even to those who would not believe until they had seen, that twenty years of anti-slavery labour has not been in vain. The North is aroused. It is alarmed and indignant. But though so much has been accomplished, there has never been a moment since the commencement of our enterprise when it was more important that our standard should be borne aloft, and our conflict unremitted, than it is at the present hour. Our earliest battle-cry, "Immediate Emancipation," proclaims the only way of salvation for our country; and its constant utterance in the nation's ears is as needful now as ever. Our later watchword, "No Union with Slaveholders," which has gathered new strength and force from the recent tragedies enacted by the Slave Power, is most appropriate to this hour, and the duty which it proclaims should be urged with untiring fidelity upon the conscience of the North. The toils of conflict increase as the hour of victory approaches. They who have borne the heat and burden of a long day will surely not falter now; and they who, at this late hour, will rally under our standard we welcome to victory and a glorious jubilee.

We resume the work of preparation for our Twenty-first Fair, hopefully. The routine of this labour is now so well understood that we need say only that any contributions of money or merchantable commodities will be thankfully accepted by the Committee, and that donations may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia, or to any member of the Committee.

Committee—Sarah Pugh, Sarah L. Child, Lucretia Mott, Rebecca S. Hart, Huldah Justice, Evelina Supple, Mary Shaw, Emma Parker, Martha Carman, Hannah L. Stickney, Mary T. Stickney, Margaret Fortsn, Gulielma M. Jones, Lydia White, Margaretta J. Burleigh, Mary Grew, Elizabeth J. Lewis, Sarah A. McKim, Harriet D. Purvis, Clementina R. John, Anna M. Hopper, Maria M. Davis, Mary M. Jennings, Emily W. Taylor, Rebecca Plumly, Elizabeth Carman, Mary A. Hall, Mary Teese, Susan W. Shaw, Ann Parker, Anna M. Child, Elizabeth Clendenon, Martha Kimber, Abby Kimber, Sarah Kenderdine, Elizabeth M. Davis, Martha A. Galvin, Margaret Griscom, Roxana Thompson, Anna Shoemaker, Lydia Gillingham, Caroline Wise, Eliza L. S. Thomas, Marian Jane Mitchell, Elizabeth Magee.

FILLMORE'S FOLLY.

MR. FILLMORE, we believe, much as he may be respected for the excellence of his private character, has never been regarded as a Solomon. We apprehend that the Catechism will never be amended in the Answer to the Question "who was the Wisest Man?" by striking out the name of the Son of David and inserting that of the Son of his Father. His Vice-Presidency, all the world knows, in 1848, was merely an accident. Mr Abbott Lawrence was the man fixed upon in advance to act as bottle-holder to General Taylor at the National ring. And it was only because the Massachusetts delegates refused to fall in with the nomination of General Taylor that the honour of the Vice-Presidency was taken away from that recusant State. Looking about in a hurry for another candidate, the Convention stumbled hap-hazard on Mr. Fillmore, who, it was thought, as a harmless, bland-looking, corpulent gentleman, would fill up the Vice-President's Chair well enough, for lack of a better. Nobody thought that old Rough and Ready would have given up the ghost so soon under the combined influences of slaveholding malignity and of cucumbers, cherries and milk.

We do not know how Mr. Fillmore may regard it, but the untimely death of General Taylor was the greatest misfortune that ever befel him. It put him in a position to which he was utterly unequal, and confronted him with temptations which he had not the nerve to resist, if he had the heart to wish to. His was the hand that made the Compromises law, which made the whole North the preserve of negro-hunters, which made common humanity a crime punishable with imprisonment and ruin, which made our country an astonishment and a hissing to the worst despotisms of Europe. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Hence have flowed, as the nearest fountain, those waters of bitterness which are now flowing over the land and threatening to make it a desert. But Mr. Fillmore still thinks it was a very fine thing he did. In reply to Mr. James Brooks, the other day, when waited upon by the Old Line Whigs (whatever they may be), he is reported as having spoken as follows:

> "When, in 1848, partly by the voice of the people, and partly by the act of Providence, that took from us the then President elect, and shrouded the country in mourning, it so happened that I was without pledges, and was left to administer the Government, as it seemed to me the best interests of all demanded. Nothing prevented me performing my duty to my country, and to all parts of that country, to the North as well as the South. Thus not only Whigs, who elected me, rallied around me, but the Democratic party also, certainly that portion of it which was conservative, and which responded to my ardent efforts to administer the Government for the good of all concerned. Should it be my lot again to occupy the Presidential chair, I trust not only to have the support of the Old Line Whigs, the Whigs of 1840, '44, '48, and '52, but the support also of the old conservative elements of the Democratic party. They together carried my administration through the trying scenes of 1850, and to them, in common with you, was I indebted for *the peace, contentment and prosperity I was thus, under Providence, enabled to give to our common country.*"

Peace, contentment and prosperity! We should like to know where Mr. Fillmore discerned the signs of these blessings. Was it in the universal roar of indignation that went up from the North he had betrayed? Was it in the man-hunts that were set on foot in all parts of the Free States, more for the insult than the game? Was it in the revolution which put the Administration which succeeded him, though the strongest in apparent numbers ever known when it came in, so soon in a minority in the House of Representatives? Does he really suppose that it was the barbarian Hatred of the Stranger, to which he has committed himself in the hope of its bearing him on again to fortune, that worked that change? Does he see it in the bloody fields of Kansas, lurid with burning villages and whitened with the bones of freemen? Does he see "peace, contentment and prosperity" in the insolence these measures of his fomented which has struck down Free Speech by the hand of an Assassin on the floor of the Senate, as the first fruits of the Slaveholding Conspiracy against that Life of our Life? PEACE, CONTENTMENT AND PROSPERITY, INDEED!

If Mr. Fillmore was not the Wisest of Men before he went on his travels, we fear that he has not much increased in wisdom by their help, judging from this specimen of his improvement. We fear that he will add but another to the long list of those "piked men of countries" from whose adventures the only moral to be drawn is

> "How much a dunce that has been sent to roam
> Excels a dunce that has been kept at home."

If this be really his estimate of his Administration, it is barely possible that he may entertain the wild dream that it may be "his lot again to occupy the Presidential Chair"! For did not even Mr. Webster die of that same delusion? We all remember how Mr. Fillmore was used as a pawn to checkmate that unhappy politician by the Slaveholders in the game played at Baltimore four years ago. Perhaps, good easy man, he really thought they were in earnest in their support of him, and hopes they may rally around him again! Poor man! He will soon find that it was for Banquo's issue that he fil'd his mind, and that the juggling fiends he trusts in have nothing but lies and disappointment for him. We remember that it was said at the time Mr. Fillmore first heard of his nomination in 1848 that he declared "you might have knocked him down with a feather!" Alas, it was with a feather he was knocked down, and his portly body made the footstool on which the Slaveholders stepped towards their designs. And now he is tickled with just such another feather and sighs for a fresh opportunity of a new humiliation. But he has had his feather (he signed the Fugitive Slave Bill with it!), he has eaten his cake, and the less he says about himself and his Administration, the wiser man he will show himself.

It is a well known effect of high places to make men's heads giddy that reach them. And not only the heads of men that reach, but of men that aspire to them. It was not to be expected that the head of Mr. Fillmore should have stood an accidental elevation the mere aspiring after which made the strong brains of Daniel Webster swim again. But his history and his present delusion show that it is the weak things of the earth that are the best fitted to do the work of the Devil, as they are to be overrul to do the work of God. The villany from which th rough honesty of soul of a slaveholder and a soldier lik General Taylor revolted, and to which he would probab have refused his sanction, seems plain and easy to tl fat-witted Buffalo attorney who succeeded him—the King Log whose stupid bulk made even Abolitionists mourn the decease of King Stork in whose stead he reigned. And even now, in the light of the burning homes of Kansas, he sees nothing but PEACE, CONTENTMENT AND PROSPERITY, in the crimes which he made into law by the flourish of his pen, and which will make his name infamous forever. Imbecility is no safeguard against Infamy. Weakness is no veil to shroud great Wickednesses from the eyes and from the detestation of mankind. Happy would it have been for this man had he been left to draw writs and collect debts in Buffalo—"*sacrificulus in pago*"—instead of being carried up to the giddy heights of power. The absurdity and ridicule of his present position may be some satisfaction to those who delight to see wickedness overtaken with punishment in this world—to see the self-complacent culprit given over to believe a lie and to be the laughing-stock of the nation; but it can never undo the past, nor make men with eyes fail to discern the assassin of the country even under the motley of the Jack-pudding.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, held at Longwood, Chester Co., Fifth month, 1856. Pp. 84.

ONE of the things most clearly seen by Abolitionists, and most distinctly declared by their voices and pens (after the patient waiting indispensable to form a judgment which should violate neither charity nor justice), has been that THE CHURCH IS THE GREAT BULWARK OF SLAVERY. Such, unequivocally, have been our observation and experience. The great religious sects of this land, whether we reckon their constituent parts by number or by weight, whether we look at their speech or silence, their movement or quiescence, their specific action or their tacit influence, have practically favoured the continuance of slavery and discouraged its abolition. Individuals in all these bodies have shown themselves true and earnest friends of freedom; but in exact proportion to the clearness and fulness of their testimony to this effect has been their unpopularity and loss of consideration in the Church; while the persons who most strenuously claim that the common fatherhood of God implies the brotherhood of man, and demand the practical recognition of that brotherhood as a religious and political and social duty, are commonly stigmatized by the Churches as *infidels*.

However strong may be the evidence that the Churches are really Pharisaical and hypocritical, following, not Christ, but the traditions of the elders, and having only the form and not the power of godliness, we must not forget that they *claim* to be an association not only for the diffusion of certain theological ideas, but for the encouragement of all holiness and the discouragement of all sin, and that their conduct must be judged by that claim. Certainly the silence of such a body in relation to a popular sin, existing around it and in connection with it, is connivance with that sin, especially when, as in the case of slavery, silence is all that the sinners ask from their accomplices. The South does not wish the North to hold slaves, or to defend slaveholding. All that she wishes is to be let alone. To be sure, when her atrocities are held up to public gaze by the Abolitionists, she thanks and compliments the John H. Pearsons and the Nehemiah Adamses who raise their voices in her behalf, and throw their respectability into her scale; but, knowing that *any* agitation in that cage of unclean birds tends to expose its offensiveness, alike to the senses and the health, she deprecates discussion, and would choose tacit acquiescence as the very most satisfactory position of the North in relation to slavery. Therefore, when the Rev. Dr. Gannet says, "The mission of Unitarianism to slavery is *silence*"—and when Prof. Moses Stuart says, "Don't pray against slavery in public"—and when any Northern clergyman declares his readiness to abandon and discountenance all agitation, and allow to slavery and the slave trade undisturbed and indefinite continuance within their present limits, if they would refrain from the occupancy of any new Territories—they clearly place themselves in alliance with slavery; and when the Churches follow these counsels, they clearly occupy the same position.

But the commendation of faithfulness is a far pleasanter duty than the rebuke of dishonesty; and we rejoice to bear witness that the youngest religious organization in the United States, the "Progressive Friends" of Pennsylvania, in their last Annual Report as in their first, bear a manly testimony against that gigantic system of robbery and wrong, American Slavery. It is refreshing to read their distinct, emphatic and thorough protest, against not slaveholders only, but the Northern allies who have given them respectability and power; and we beg our readers to test the *pretences* of protestation against slavery which, under the stimulus of the outrages recently committed in Washington and Kansas, are now put forth from some of our elder Churches and ecclesiastical bodies, by comparing them with the following "Testimony" [illegible] Progressive Friends on Slavery, especially with [illegible] second and third paragraphs.

In the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, Fifth month 21st, 1856, the following Testimony against Slavery was unanimously adopted, viz.:

> Once more, in obedience to the Apostolic injunction, "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," we lift up our united voice against that gigantic system of robbery and wrong, American Slavery, by which nearly four millions of human beings, immortal children of God like ourselves, are reduced to a level with four-footed beasts, compelled to toil without wages, often scourged and lacerated by savage-hearted masters or overseers, separated from their dearest kindred and sold as chattels, and, what is far worse than any act of physical cruelty, deprived of the means of intellectual and moral culture, and doomed to gross ignorance and degradation, in a land calling itself Christian and boasting of its civilization, refinement and humanity! The bodily tortures endured by the slaves are indeed enough to awaken profound sympathy and excite an intense indignation; but, oh! how much more appalling is the violence done to those higher faculties, through which they are allied to God and made heirs to an immortal life!
>
> "Woe for those
> Who trample o'er a mind, that deathless thing!
> They know not what they do, nor what they deal with.
> Man, perchance, may bind the flower his step hath bruised,
> Or light anew the torch he quenches,
> Or to music wind again the lyre-string
> From his touch that flew. But for the Soul!
> Oh! tremble, and beware to lay rude hands
> Upon God's mysteries there!"
>
> Our hearts are touched when we reflect that since our last meeting, more than one hundred thousand new victims have been born to this dreadful inheritance of cruelty, degradation and shame, while tens of thousands of others have found a refuge therefrom only in the grave! We cannot find language to express our sense of the deep criminality of slavery, and of the terrible guilt incurred, not only by the slaveholders, but by all those who in any way support or countenance the system, or even neglect to testify against it. In such a case, silence itself is a crime. What, then, shall we say of those who not only refuse to plead the cause of the oppressed, but cast all their influence on the side of the oppressor, pleading in his behalf the sacredness of Laws and Constitutions, weaving apologies for him out of the Bible, and justifying him in the name of Jesus and his Apostles? In what language shall we describe the Church which lends its whole strength to the spoilers of humanity, which permits slavery to nestle securely in its holiest places, and consoles the kidnapper with its sacerdotal benedictions? The garments of the American Church are steeped in blood; her altars are the chief bulwarks of slavery; her communion-tables the refuge of the slavehunter; her ministers forgers of fetters and apologists for sin; her moral philosophy corrupt; her prayers hypocritical; her worship idolatrous; her solemn assemblies and ceremonies a sham. To her God speaks in the language addressed to the rulers of ancient Sodom: "Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me: the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting."
>
> We believe, with Albert Barnes, that slavery could not live outside of the American Church, if it had no foothold within its pale; and we also believe that any form of anti-slavery which shrinks from denouncing the religion of that Church as false and spurious must necessarily be weak and inefficient. In dealing with such a sin as slavery, we can adopt no half-way measures. The whole truth must be proclaimed, "without concealment and without compromise." No Church, no Government, no Constitution, no Union, which requires us to support or sanction such a crime, can have any binding force upon our consciences. We seek not alone to prevent the *extension* of slavery, but to exterminate it from every part of the land; and in this work we must be no respecters of persons, but faithful ever to our highest convictions, consenting to no truce with the enemies of freedom, but loyal always to Justice, Humanity and Truth.
>
> We rejoice to believe that the anti-slavery cause, in spite of all the obstacles it has encountered, has made great progress. The "little cloud, like unto a man's hand," which twenty-five years ago was seen to be ascending above the moral horizon, has expanded over the whole heavens, and is fertilizing the land with the waters of truth. In the halls of the National Congress and the State Legislatures, and in Ecclesiastical Assemblies and Conferences, Slavery is a leading topic of discussion. It divides Churches, agitates benevolent associations, controls the issues of politics, and forces itself upon the public attention in books, pamphlets and newspapers. All schemes for stopping the agitation of the subject have only served to cover their authors with ridicule and con[illegible] and so, we doubt not, it will be in time to come. [illegible] has begun, which can never go backward, [illegible] no distant day, bring freedom to the [illegible] land from its deadliest curse. We [illegible] es of fiery persecution and [illegible] but the path of duty [illegible] tain.
>
> Let u[illegible]
> Press th[illegible]
> Th[illegible]
> He shall cast aside [illegible]
>
> Sign[illegible]

W[illegible] now [illegible] that similar movements are to be expected from more of them while the excitement remains which has been aroused in so large a portion of our community by the recent outrages in Washington and Kansas. This language will not be misunderstood by Abolitionists; but, for the sake of our possible readers who may be less familiar with anti-slavery principles and also with ecclesiastical *management* than we are, and who may think the Church action in question quite satisfactory, it is worth while to state the matter more at large.

Does the language above used imply a belief on our part that a minister and Church, or an "association" of ministers, none of whom feel a disposition to oppose slavery, deliberately prepare and publish something that shall *seem* to oppose it, for the sake of keeping up with public sentiment? Nothing of the sort.

Our belief is that in every class of men in the community, even in every Church, and every clerical "association," a few men are to be found who have learned from the Abolitionists to appreciate more or less the responsibility of the North, and preëminently of the Northern Church, for slavery. Waiting till a favourable opportunity offers (for these men know the unpopularity of their movement, and the suspicion which it will bring upon their piety), one of them cautiously introduces the subject of slavery in prayer or exhortation, and ends by proposing some action against it. Generally a blank silence in the meeting, or the discouraging reply of some influential conservative brother, or a quiet proceeding to some other subject by the presiding clergyman, or his request to some brother of the opposite persuasion to lead in prayer, will indefinitely postpone the whole matter. But if the mover has courage and pertinacity enough to press his point, a debate ensues; then one urges the necessity of keeping religion pure from the turmoil of politics, another deprecates harsh language, a third proposes to amend the resolution by leaving out its strongest expression, and a compromise is formed, the minority giving up the *action*, more or less energetic, which they wished, for the sake of having *some* recorded testimony of their Church on the subject of slavery, and the majority giving up their wish to say *nothing* upon that subject, and glad to escape from further solicitation by consenting to say *next to nothing*. A comparison of the extract given above with the Church resolutions passed in our country for six months past, and six months to come, will abundantly illustrate our meaning.

But the Progressive Friends, not being, any more than other Abolitionists, men of but one idea, have said many other good things in their Annual Report. We give a brief abstract of their "Testimonies," as follows:

In regard to *Amusements*, which have always been formally discountenanced by the un-progressive Friends, or Quakers, they say that the desire for them which plainly exists in human nature, and which nothing else will supply, was not implanted by a beneficent Creator to mock and tantalize us; that the prejudice which places amusements in the list of things forbidden springs from the asceticism which disfigures the popular faith, and which, instead of giving scope for the normal activity of all the elements of human nature, employs one class of our faculties in fighting against another; that the piety inculcated by Jesus is not a fanatical ecstasy over the mutilation or destruction of a part of our faculties, but the efflorescence of our *whole* nature in a harmonious development of every faculty of mind, body and soul, each acting in accordance with its own special law; that religion and amusement are *not* mutually hostile, nor is fighting against our nature a service to good morals; that a too rigorous restraint upon the young tends both to repel them from religion, as a yoke too grievous to be borne, and to drive them to more dangerous indulgences beyond the supervision of their natural guardians; that, on the other hand, amusements ought always to be held subordinate to the great end of human existence, the development of a pure, elevated and noble CHARACTER; that even innocent amusements should never be made the business of life, and that such as tend to diminish the power of conscience or corrupt the moral feelings should be scrupulously avoided and earnestly opposed; that recreations should be strictly conformed to the laws of health, and that the best security against the abuses of them would be the association in them of both sexes and of every age.

In relation to *Woman's Rights*, they strongly testify against the idea that any human soul is to look to another human soul, instead of to God, as its absolute master; [illegible] against that popular perversion [illegible] sents them as made for man, and [illegible] ior creatures, the mere tools [illegible] h, and State, and social [illegible] character of [illegible] e and the pernicious [illegible] that they already [illegible] many women [illegible] God, and urge them [illegible] d them by [illegible] and self-reliance, which [illegible] ment [illegible] sent and the coming generatio[illegible]

They urge the entire disuse of to[illegible] drinks, relying mainly upon moral ins[illegible] the advancement of this, as of other reforms.

In relation to the *Treatment of Criminals*, they [illegible] the Pennsylvania Senate and House of Representatives for the immediate abolition of Capital Punishment, and [illegible] the substitution therefor of such wholesome restraint and discipline as will tend to reform the criminal and make him a useful member of society, invoking also their earnest and conscientious attention to the sanitary and moral condition of penitentiaries and jails. They represent that the criminal, however degraded, is yet a human being; that the most judicious discipline for his individual improvement will at the same time work out the best results for the community, and that men intrusted with the care of prisoners should possess a Christian and philanthropic spirit as well as a knowledge of human nature in all its phases.

Lastly, they suggest the expediency of meeting together on the first day of the week for mutual edification, and the giving and receiving of religious, moral and scientific instruction. Carefully separating themselves from superstition respecting that day, and rejecting the popular notion that other days are less holy and less strictly to be devoted to the service of God, they declare that man is accountable for the proper use of his talents on every day of the week, and that God's laws of matter, no less than of mind and soul, are worthy and fit subjects of investigation in these meetings.

The Annual Report contains, besides the Minutes of the meeting, and the "Testimonies" above briefly sketched, an "Exposition of Sentiments," addressed by the Progressive Friends to the friends of pure and undefiled religion everywhere, the fraternal epistles of various Associations and individuals in unison with them, and an excellent sermon, delivered at the meeting by Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, on "False Ideas of God and his Government."

Speaking critically, we must notice as peculiar and unfortunate, in the present position of our country, the absence of any distinct and emphatic "testimony" against war, Lynch law, duelling, violent assaults by individuals, the habit of going armed for self-defence, and the unspeakable absurdity appealed to, in some portions of our country, as the "code of honour." The thoroughness of the Progressive Friends, however, upon other points, assures us that this omission springs from no want of faithfulness, from nothing worse than inadvertence. It is only fair to state, also, that the meeting was held previous to the murderous assault upon Mr. Sumner.

This pamphlet richly deserves a careful perusal and a wide circulation. It is refreshing and delightful to see how, from the formal and rigid stump of Quakerism, which also, in its earlier days, did good service to the world, there is now springing this vigorous and beautiful branch, not to be clipped and confined, like its parent, within the bounds of an austere formalism, but, comely as well as useful, refreshing those around with its shade, and giving its leaves for the healing of the nations.

THE KANSAS QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

THE House, on Monday, was brought to a direct vote on the question of admitting Kansas to the Union under the Topeka Free State Constitution. By a union of the Fillmore Know-Nothings with the Border Ruffian Democracy, the bill was defeated by *one* majority. The slaveholders and doughfaces exulted over their victory, feeling sure that the last chance of making Kansas a Free State had been lost. Next morning, however, Mr. Barclay (Dem.), of Pa., who had voted with the majority, moved a reconsideration of the vote, declaring his intention to vote for the bill; and there is some ground for hope that this motion, which is now (Wednesday) pending, may prevail, and the bill finally be passed. Houston, of Alabama, on behalf of the slaveholders, applied the plantation whip to the back of Mr. Barclay, but did not succee[illegible] tried by every means in their power to pre[illegible] without success. The confusion resulting from this conflict imposed a severe task upon Speaker Banks, but Mr Greeley, in a despatch to *The Tribune*, says "he evinced eminent ability and knowledge of the rules, and increased his towering reputation as a presiding officer." Florence of Pa., insisted upon talking out of order, defying the Speaker, but, finding that he must stop or be taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms, he finally took his seat.

The Report of the Kansas Committee appeared at length in the daily papers of Tuesday. It fills almost three solid pages of *The Tribune*. It is very thorough, and so arranged as to present a complete and authentic history of the affairs of the Territory from the beginning to the present time. Its disclosures are of the most startling character and they cannot fail to add greatly to the excitement already existing in the Free States. Such another record of political villany and ruffianly violence can scarcely be found in all history. The Committee, in concluding their report, say that the following facts and conclusions are established by the testimony reported to the House:

First: That each election in the Territory held under the organic or alleged Territorial law has been carried by organized invasions from the State of Missouri, by which the people of the Territory have been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law.

Second: That the alleged Territorial Legislature was an illegally constituted body, and had no power to pass valid laws, and their enactments are, therefore, null and void.

Third: That these alleged laws have not, as a general thing, been used to protect persons and property and to punish wrong, but for unlawful purposes.

Fourth: That the election under which the sitting Delegate, John W. Whitfield, holds his seat was not held in pursuance of any valid law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the choice of those resident citizens who voted for him.

Fifth: That the election under which the contesting Delegate, Andrew H. Reeder, claims his seat, was not held in pursuance of law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the choice of the resident citizens who voted for him.

Sixth: That Andrew H. Reeder received a greater number of votes of resident citizens than John W. Whitfield for Delegate.

Seventh: That in the present condition of the Territory a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, the selection of impartial Judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election.

Eighth: That the various elections held by the people of the Territory preliminary to the formation of the State Government have been as regular as the disturbed condition of the Territory would allow; and that the Constitution passed by the Convention, held in pursuance of said elections, embodies the will of a majority of the people.

Senator Douglas, alarmed by the storm gathering at the North, now proposes to abandon his bill, introduced in March last, providing for the admission of Kansas to the Union after her population shall amount to 92,343. He has presented a *new* bill, by which, in utter defiance of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," he proposes to override the Territorial Legislature; that a new census of the legal voters of the Territory shall be taken by five Commissioners, to be appointed by Congress, selected from the different sections of the Union and representing fairly all political parties; that the Commissioners make a fair apportionment of delegates to be elected by each County to form a Constitution and institute a State Government. When the apportionment shall be made, the Commissioners are to remain in session every day, except Sunday, at the place most convenient for the inhabitants of said Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in said list of voters, which list shall be previously printed and generally circulated through the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places of each election district; and so soon as all the errors have been thus corrected in said lists, the Commissioners are requested to cause a corrected list of the legal voters to be printed, and copies furnished to each Judge of Election, to be put up at the places of voting, and circulated in every County in the Territory before the day of election—no person to be allowed to vote whose name does not appear on the list as a legal voter; the election for delegates to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the Convention to assemble on the first Monday in December, to decide, first, whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and if so decided, to proceed to form a Constitution and State Government, which shall be of republican form. Kansas then to be admitted under such Constitution on an equal footing with the original States. The bill provides fur-

hat no law shall be enforced in the Territory ir
g the liberty of speech, or of the Press, or the
of the people to bear arms, &c. It also provides
ment for illegal voting, or fraud and olence at
ons, and authorizes the use of the mili y for that
ee. The main point is, that the persons designated
e census as the present inhabitants of the Territory,
decide all points in dispute at a fair election, with-
aud or violence, or any other improper influence.
e white male inhabitants over 21 years of age are
allowed to vote, if they have resided in the Terri-
three months previous to the day of election, and no
test shall be required; no oath to support the Fugi-
lave law or any other law, nor any other condition
ever.

ere is an *appearance* of fairness in this, but it is out-
osly unjust, because a large proportion of the Free
settlers have been driven out of the Territory by
ution and violence. Douglas and his slaveholding
rs no doubt feel sure that they can make Kansas a
State under this arrangement. *The Tribune* well
ves:

he time, of all others, selected by Mr. Douglas for
g his proposed census of actual inhabitants is just
a Border-Ruffian invasion countenanced and encour-
if not inaugurated by himself—perhaps with a view
is very use of it—has been directed with the most
ous violence, attended with murders, plunderings and
ings against the Free State men, and by which no
proportion of them have been driven out of the
tory. To refer the future fate of the Territory to
ie left of the resident population after such a foray
st the Free State settlers, and while all the active
among them have indictments hanging over their
s and their chiefs are imprisoned on a bogus charge
reason, would be to give the late Border-Ruffian in-
rs who sacked Lawrence the full benefit of all their
ges, which, indeed, we take to be a leading object of
ill.

All this supposes that the apparent provisions of the
are faithfully carried out, and that nobody but actual
ers, now in the Territory, are inserted in the list of
ers. That list, however, is to be made out by Com-
ioners appointed by President Pierce; and taking
account the character of the men to whom he intrusts
government of the Territory, what reliance can be had
ny Commission to be appointed by him? The bill
ides, the telegraph tells us, for the appointment of
Commissioners, from different sections of the Union,
present fairly all political parties. This, by the way,
unconstitutional provision. Congress has no right
pose any such restraints on the President's appoint-
power. But supposing this difficulty evaded, in what
would the President be likely to exercise this re-
ted power of appointment? For a Commissioner to
esent the North he would appoint some Shannon, for
Southern Commissioner some Lecompte, and for the
State Commissioner some turning and twisting traitor
Dunn. A beautiful Board of Commissioners, truly!
a beneficent provision this for securing the rights of
North!

But, supposing an unexceptionable board appointed,
ere anything to prevent a thousand or two Border-
ians marching into the Territory the day previous to
commencement of the probationary three months, and
ning to be enrolled as inhabitants? Let them remain
he Territory for the three months ensuing—and a
erate sum of money contributed by the slaveholders,
rocured on some pretence or other from the United
es Treasury, would feed them during that time—and
e end of the three months they would be legal voters;
having voted Kansas a slaveholding State, they
t then stay or go as they pleased. It is, perhaps,
a view to this operation, and to reduce the number
he three-months men whom it would be necessary to
tain in Kansas, that the Missouri mob, acting in sym-
y, if not in concert, with Douglas, are stopping and
ing back all Free State men who are attempting to
nto Kansas, and who, if not kept out, might help to
l the list of Free State voters."

hile affairs at Washington are thus being shaped by
glas, Atchison and Stringfellow, the telegraph brings
e following intelligence:

CHICAGO, Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

Worcester company of forty-four men, bound for
as on board the steamer Sultana, were disarmed on
ay last in a manner similar to that adopted with the
ago company. The scene took place at Waverly, ten
s from Lexington. Their captors have announced
intention to detain them as prisoners and dispose of
to suit the exigencies of the times. Sixty Sharp's
s were taken from them.

e above statement is from a reliable source, a well-
wn gentleman who witnessed the occurrence.

is also reported that a company from Ottowa, Ill.,
also disarmed and arrested on Saturday. All the
towns have announced a determination to allow no
grants from the North to enter Kansas. A correspon-
of *The St. Louis Democrat*, Jefferson City, 20th ult.,
ges Gov. Price with having sent twelve cannon and
nty-two boxes of muskets from the United States
nal to Stringfellow, to assist in the conquest of Kansas.

CHICAGO, Monday, June 30, 1856.

e papers of this city have been furnished with full
reliable reports of the disarming of the company of
ago emigrants to Kansas. The statements contradict,
ome particulars, the accounts sent from St. Louis.
e company was set ashore, on Saturday evening, four
low Alton; the Captain refusing to land at Alton.
company from Worcester, Mass., arrived here to-day,
d for Kansas. The Chicago company will again
e for the Territory by way of Iowa—they are to start
ediately.

BURLINGAME'S SPEECH.

e Washington correspondent of *The Independent* gives
following sketch of the scene presented in the House
g the delivery of the Hon. ANSON BURLINGAME'S
e and eloquent speech:

Mr. Burlingame, the representative of that old Com-
wealth, took the floor in 'Committee of the Whole on
State of the Union,' and proceeded to defend Massa-
etts from the interminable assaults which have been
upon her from the commencement of this Congress.
His manner as well as his matter gained the instant
tion of the House. All felt that Massachusetts would
indicated, and that perfect freedom of debate would
maintained. Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri and South
lina were brought to the bar and proved guilty, while
reputation of that glorious old State, whose bosom
holds the ashes of the martyrs of the Revolution, was
ed spotless.

But when he entered upon the last great, crowning
t to the majesty of his State, in which her honour
been smitten most dastardly, and that smiting had
d scores of welcome defenders in the national halls,
readers can form no conception of the feeling which
like successive electric shocks around this hall. It
as if Webster and Hayne had come up from their
ldy graves, and, in all the vivid life of the dead past,
the helmet and harness upon them, had entered the
a. The South quailed under the perfect torrent of
riotic indignation and plain, outspoken Saxon denun-
ion which came pouring from his lips. Some sat pale
ghost-like, some reddened in their rising wrath until
r faces assumed a scarlet hue. Some, by vain attempts
appear indifferent to this first bugle-note of defiance,
which Southern dictation was set aside, only showed
mselves more interested by the attempt. The iron
ered their souls.

'The representative from South Carolina, who stood
in the Senate Chamber and protected 'the nephew of
uncle' while smiting Mr. Sumner, sat watching with
nervous form and quick, restless eye, and, while smart-
under the manly utterances of the representative from
assachusetts, hissed through his almost closed teeth the
ly, chivalrous sentiment, 'That's false!!' So did the
cle from South Carolina interrupt the Senator from
assachusetts when, in his place, he denounced the infamy
the outrage upon the person of his colleague. The
rtrait he drew of Mr. Sumner was vivid and life-like,
pecially that feature of his character which his late
eech developes — Charles Sumner, the pure-minded,
aste man, the scholar, the lover of books, and the stu-
nt of history, the quiet, unobtrusive, unostentatious
entleman is at heart a lion in the fight of freedom. The
ant which had fallen from the lips of the despots of the
antation so long did not reach him; but when they laid
eir violent hands upon the fair fame of his native State,
d, perverting her history, stabbed human liberty through
, Charles Sumner developed the lion strength of debate
d love of liberty which was within him.

"The opposition side of the House, by which I mean
e Republican or Free State side, was full, and the gal-
nt band of freedom drank in the utterances of Mr. Bur-
game with unmingled pleasure. I looked over the
owd and scanned their faces during this speech, and I
ust mistake in reading character by the physiognomy
ere developed if the South do not find their full match
any aspect which the vexed question may assume.
ost of them show the character of old campaigners,
though a majority put on the Congressional harness the
esent session. But this session has been a long and hard
mpaign of itself. It occupied a battle-field for nine
eeks in its opening, in which all the tactics of slavery
ere developed, with the exception of this new movement,
y which the bludgeon answers, or is made to silence, the
gument. For this they are ready. But very few, and
one if influence can avail, will accept a challenge under
he murderous duelling code. This is a relic of barbar-
m that the overseership of Southern plantations still
eep in existence among themselves, but is denounced by
very precept of Christianity, every instinct of a polished
entleman, and by the entire civilised world. But per-
onal protection from assault, a first law of our nature,
ill be at all times defended.

"It is a sad time in our national life when the historian
in honour bound to record the fact that the representa-
ives of the American people carry arms for the defence
f their own persons. Yet so it is, and future generations
ill read the record with sorrow, and pour their unmiti-
gated contempt upon those who *thus* place freemen upon
heir defence.

"The voice of the country has said 'Arm yourselves'
—and their representatives here have obeyed their dic-
ates, and direful will be the result if a blood-spot crim-
ons the floor of this House for words spoken in debate."

PRESENTATION TO HON. JOHN P. HALE.—The friends of
Mr. Hale at Dover, N. H., lately presented to him a silver
salver, of the value of $100, as a token of their respect
and confidence. Mr. Hale, on receiving the present, made
a touching and appropriate speech.

LINDLEY COATES.

THE following tribute to the memory of our deceased brother, LINDLEY COATES, from the pen of one who knew him intimately and appreciated his worth, appeared in last week's *Liberator*. We copy it not less in obedience to our own feelings than in compliance with the request of the writer.

Died, at his residence in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on the 3d of 6th month, 1856, LINDLEY COATES, in the 63d year of his age.

He was a man of very strong intellectual powers of mind, which were controlled by a moral sentiment of a similar quality; hence his life was one of prominent usefulness, his religion practical right, his work the overthrow of all oppression and wrong.

He advocated temperance, peace and the abolition of capital punishment, with great power, but on no subject was he so absorbed as that of American slavery; and for its overthrow he laboured with an ardour equalled by few other men. As early as the year 1827, he repudiated all plans for the gradual abolition of slavery—asserting that immediate emancipation was the right of the slave, and the duty of the master; and that, had he it in his power, he would put an end to its existence instantaneously—knowing, as he did, that justice, mercy and humanity demanded it, and that it was always unsafe to disregard their requirements.

He laboured to promote his object by presenting these views to the minds of others, both in his social and religions intercourse with them, contending that nothing would be so potent in redeeming the religion of the land from its downward tendency as for it to engage ardently in this cause; at the same time urging upon his associates the necessity of being vigilant in the agitation of the subject, and endeavouring to convince them of the correctness of his views with regard to the high position which he had himself taken.

In the winter of 1829, when petitions were circulated in the neighbourhood, praying Congress to exert its power for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he expressed unwillingness to sign them, and, in connection with another individual, drew up one asking for IMMEDIATE emancipation; to procure signatures for which, he laboured most zealously, obtaining about one thousand or fifteen hundred in a short time. This step was considered unwise by many of the friends of anti-slavery at that time, who urged that it would create excitement in Congress, would have no advocates, prejudice the cause, and, therefore, prolong the time of the slave's suffering, instead of hastening his freedom. But he was not to be deterred from his purpose by this.

In the years 1829–30, he, along with a few others of similar opinions, often met the opponents of anti-slavery in public debate, and all agree that no one was more efficient than he in answering their sophistical arguments, or presented the question in a clearer light.

His house, which had always been a place where fugitives could find aid and shelter, had by this time become the resort of Abolitionists in general, whom he took great interest and pleasure in entertaining, and hearing their views with regard to the best means to be pursued for the promotion of the cause; freely giving his own in exchange.

The principles of the American Colonization Society were too obviously unjust and proscriptive to deceive his clear and unprejudiced mind, and he denounced and exposed them, showing that they were based upon prejudice, and that the tendency of its operations was to strengthen the system of slavery by removing some of the obstacles to its continuance, and by misleading many of the less discerning friends of emancipation by its hypocritical profession of seeking the elevation of the coloured race. It was about this time that GARRISON'S "THOUGHTS ON COLONIZATION" made its appearance—a book which he hailed with pleasure, reading and circulating it with joy and gratitude.

The Liberator, more than any other publication of that day, he prized as an instrumentality in the cause, though not blind to the usefulness of others which appeared about the same time; reading them, and encouraging others to do the same. At this time, some of the friends of the cause were in the habit of meeting to devise plans for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, and enlisting others in the good work. At one of these, in our friend's immediate neighbourhood, it was proposed to form an anti-slavery association. This met with his hearty approval, and a few weeks later, in the Fall of 1832, the CLARKSON SOCIETY was organized. No one contributed more to its usefulness than the deceased. It became an auxiliary to the Pennsylvania State Society at its formation, and is still labouring to consummate its object. Both the State and American Societies also received his hearty coöperation, as long as health permitted.

Our friend fully appreciated the talent and worth of CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, on his first acquaintance with him, which took place at Coatsville, Chester County, at the time when the latter made his first visit to Pennsylvania, early in 1836; and he arranged his business at home, so as to enable him to devote himself to the labour of getting up meetings for friend BURLEIGH, and accompanied him in the attendance of the same, spending a considerable part of that Winter in the work. He continued to be warmly attached to him from that time until his death.

In the same year, he was solicited by the leaders of the Anti-Masonic party to give them his coöperation. He being opposed to secret societies, and the anti-slavery people nearly all at that time believing in political action as a means for the overthrow of slavery, some of them assisted to obtain his consent to become a candidate for the party to represent them in the Convention to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which resulted in his election, and he took his seat accordingly. When the article regulating the qualification to exercise the elective franchise was under discussion, it was moved to amend it by inserting the word "white," which amendment forever prohibited the so-called coloured man from using the elective franchise. This he resisted with all his ingenuity and power, but was not able to prevent its final passage. It was then and there he first became fully conscious of the corruption which political partisanship engenders in its devotees. He became disgusted with it, and never after consented to give his name for any office which requires him to swear to support any Constitution.

A short time before his death, in conversation with his family, he remarked that it was a great consolation to him that he had gotten entirely clear of politics.

His remains were interred in Friends' grave-yard, on the 6th inst. We apprehend no marble will be placed there to tell that "here lies the great and good LINDLEY COATES." But we know that he still lives in the reforms of the world, and are not disposed to mourn that his body is relieved from pain, and his spirit receiving its merited reward and enjoyment. But we shall greatly feel the want of his society, in the remainder of our journey through life.

May this obituary stimulate others to do as he did—live to some purpose, instead of wasting life in folly and sin, leaving the world to mourn that such had ever existed.

THOMAS WHITSON.

SALLIE HOLLEY IN GHENT, NEW YORK.

Correspondence of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

GHENT, N. Y. June 13, 1856.

ON Sunday afternoon last, by invitation, Sallie Holley gave a lecture on Slavery in the Friends' meeting-house in this town. The audience was large, intelligent, and very attentive, and made up, in part, of persons who have heretofore withheld their presence and sympathies from anti-slavery meetings.

The stirring events of the past month—the murderous assault upon Charles Sumner, together with the struggles and bloodshed in Kansas—have arrested the attention and aroused the feelings of the people of this portion of the State on the subject of slavery, and its relation to the United States Government, to an extent never before known. Would that the counsels of wisdom might prevail, and so direct the feeling and sympathy thus awakened as to secure the speedy overthrow and extermination of that gigantic conspiracy—the so-called National Government.

Miss Holley spoke with much eloquence for about an hour and a half, showing it to be a religious duty and obligation resting upon all to enlist in the cause of the slave and the persecuted coloured man. This question, she said, was a test of the religious character of the people of this country. As Jesus was despised, persecuted and crucified by the Pharisees eighteen hundred years ago, so are the slaves and coloured people despised, persecuted and crucified by the pharisaical and time-serving of our day. She dwelt most impressively upon the wrongs done to the oppressed, appealing to the benevolence and sympathy of the audience, as none other could do.

Aaron M. Powell then addressed the meeting briefly, urging the importance of earnest and efficient action under the banner of "No Union with Slaveholders," to meet the emergencies of the present crisis.

God speed the progress of the revolution which is now going on!

P.

A PREACHER FOR THE TIMES.

IT is a striking proof of the progress of the anti-slavery cause, that at last its power is beginning to be felt even in the most conservative of all American religious denominations, the Protestant Episcopal Church. Not long since, the Rev. Mr. Morris, Rector of St. John's Chapel in this city, caused no small stir in his congregation by preaching a sermon, in which he boldly denounced the conduct of the men who are seeking to enslave Kansas and to put down freedom of speech in Congress by the terrors of the bludgeon. And now we are permitted to record another example of manly boldness and fidelity in a clergyman of the same faith.

From The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 30.

Notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather, a large congregation assembled last night, at the Protestant Episcopal church of the Epiphany, at the corner of Chestnut and Fifteenth streets, attracted thither by an advertisement in the papers of Saturday, that the Rector, Rev. Dudley A. Tyng, would discourse on the subject of "Our Country's Troubles." The announcement created more sensation than usual from the fact that the Episcopal denomination, as a body, have always discountenanced the introduction of such topics into the pulpit, as well as from the circumstance that the Rector, since his connection with his parish, has generally preserved silence on questions having the most remote allusion to public affairs. The minister, having selected an appropriate text, briefly gave his reasons for introducing the subject into the pulpit, and then proceeded to denounce, in an eloquent strain and straightforward manner, the outrages in Kansas and at Washington, the aggressions of the Slave Power, the miserable truckling of the North to the South, the horrors of slavebreeding, and concluded by urging his congregation to exercise their rights as freemen at the ballot-box, in staying the progress of the monster evil, and invoking aid for the suffering emigrants in Kansas. The sermon was listened to with breathless attention, and without interruption until the speaker spoke of slave-breeding—rearing immortal souls (who were made for heaven) for bondage, when Dr. Casper Morris, formerly a church warden, rose from his pew, and, as one of the original church wardens, entered his solemn protest against the desecration of the place and the day by such services. The preacher continued his discourse without noticing the interruption, and, at the conclusion of his sermon, respectfully suggested to the gentleman who had interposed his objections to point out the wrong which he had committed in using the Sabbath as the time, and the Episcopal pulpit as the place, for the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments.

Mr. Tyng suggested, too, that it would have been as well to have waited until he had concluded his remarks before interposing any objection to them. If he (Mr. T.) was wrong, he was open to correction, but he would, as a minister of Jesus Christ, express his views of the great exciting topic of the day. Mr. Tyng was perfectly calm throughout the exciting scene, and he appeared to be entirely unmoved during the decided sensation incident to the interruption of Dr. Morris. We should state that at the commencement of the remarks of Mr. Tyng several members of the congregation left the church.

After the sermon was finished, the members of the congregation gathered in knots to discuss the unusual event, while many of them congratulated the minister upon the decided stand he had taken. We understand that the matter will be refered to the Bishop of the Diocese.

Mr. Tyng is a son of the Rev. Dr. Tyng of this city. Whether Bishop Potter will interpose his authority, in behalf of Border Ruffianism, to silence him, we shall see in due time. We certainly hope better things of him.

AN AMERICAN DOCTOR OF DIVINITY IN EXETER HALL.

THE Massachusetts Sabbath School Society has published, for the use of the children of the Orthodox Congregational Churches in that State, a work entitled "Sabbaths Abroad," by the Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D., of Boston, a hunker of the hunkers, a supporter of the Fugitive Slave law, and one who thinks it not worth while for Massachusetts to get excited merely because one of her Senators was knocked down by a Southern ruffian! In his sketch of a "Sabbath in London" occurs the following passage:

"My first meeting was that of the London Tract Society. It was dull. The speaking was very indifferent, not a ray of genius, or a sparkle of oratory. Everything went heavy. The only incident worth mentioning—and that scarcely served to wake up the drowsy audience—was the introduction of a negro speaker. His skin was black as a coal. His whole speech, which was vulgar in diction, and very pompous in manner, was a tirade against America for holding slaves. This seemed to give the audience the animation which the other speakers had failed to awaken in them. They really seemed to enjoy this speech. First the feet, then the hands, then the 'hear him,' were proofs that *his* was the telling speech of the occasion. The English are fond of giving Jonathan a rap on this subject, whenever they can get a chance, and it isn't of the 'spiritual' kind either. What excellent philanthropists these people are! They have raised twenty millions of pounds, bought all the slaves, and then turned them loose, without the least provision for their welfare, or so much as inquiring whether they were dead or alive. I hope that when slavery is abolished in America, as I pray God it one day may be, it will be on a somewhat different plan. Freedom alone is not all that we must give them. They need to be prepared for the boon; and England, if she would confess it, has committed a great practical error in the way in which her emancipation was effected. However, let us not recriminate. Let us give her the credit for what she has done; and if there is a better way, let us try, as soon as possible, to find it. After the black man had concluded, and the storms of applause had subsided, I traced my way back to my hotel, musing on certain points which the exercises at Exeter Hall had suggested. One of these reflections naturally was, how easy it is to see 'a mote in a brother's eye, when lo! a beam is in our own'! There is a considerable amount of heavy timber yet to be cast out of thine eye, Old England! Another was, 'be not partakers of other men's sins.' I do not quote this as a literal text; but it is an important maxim. It would not require a great amount of logic to prove that while Jonathan was getting these raps for his slavery, the Englishman was lining Jonathan's pockets with bank notes, in pay for 'the raw material,' which she was using up to enrich her merchant princes. I like to see responsibilities shared where they ought to be; and I believe, in my very soul, they should be in this great matter. I have no apologies to offer for slavery. But I like to see everything fair. If England and America have great *privileges*, they are also great *sinners*. Neither should criminate too fiercely the other. When the truth is spoken, it should be spoken in love."

While the children of the Orthodox Churches of Massachusetts are fed with such stuff as this from the Sunday School Library, we need not wonder that too many of them grow up to be doughfaces in politics and hypocrites in religion.

ROBINSON'S NEW POLITICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.—Alfred Robinson, who has an office on the same floor with our own, has just published a new political map of the United States and its Territories, for the purpose of exhibiting at one view the relative proportions of Freedom and Slavery in this country. To this end the slave States are coloured nearly black—the Territories are tinged with a lighter hue, bordering on gray, while the free States are coloured red.

One can thus see at a glance just how much of this country is (nominally) free, how much of it is wholly subject to the slave Oligarchy, and how much of it is neither the one nor the other, being in a sort of transition state, and liable at any moment to be overrun by the "peculiar institution."

The map presents a striking view of the political condition of every State and Territory in the Union, as far as that condition is the result of free or slave institutions, and will be an invaluable auxiliary to the cause. The map is 53 by 54 inches, and is furnished at $1 50 per copy, or at $1 where twenty-five copies are sent to one address.

SUGARING THE PILL.—At the recent meeting of the Hudson River Baptist Association, the Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., wishing to administer to the body the pill of Colonization, sugared it all over with professions of anti-slavery and love for the "dark land" of Africa, as follows:

"In view of the four million people in the United States of African descent, mostly in slavery, the others scarcely more than nominally free—in view of the distracting influence occasioned by their relation to the white race, and more especially in view of the religious condition of Africa, and the entire abandonment of that dark land by our Missionary Union—therefore,

"Resolved, That it be recommended to all the Churches who are willing to make a collection for the Colonization Society that they remit it to the New York Auxiliary."

Mr. Black, a coloured clergyman, a member of the Association, was not willing to swallow the gilded pill, and the mover finally withdrew it.

☞ ON the fourth page of this week's STANDARD the reader will find an article from *The* (London) *News*, to which we direct special attention, as the view of an impartial and candid observer, with the advantage of a distant stand-point, of the present aspect of affairs in this country. The value and influence of the article will not be diminished among American Abolitionists when we state that it was probably written by Miss Harriet Martineau, from whom every new testimony on behalf of the cause becomes more and more precious, as each may be looked upon as possibly the last.

MR. SUMNER WORSE.—Horace Greeley, in a despatch to *The Tribune* of Wednesday, says: "Mr. Sumner is worse, and is declared in danger of softening of the brain, by his medical friends. He is enjoined to avoid all excitement, and will hardly be permitted to resume his seat this session. He will never fully recover."

REV. HUBBARD WINSLOW, of Boston, the renowned clerical doughface who, at the time of the Lovejoy tragedy, preached a sermon in which "republican liberty" was defined as "not the liberty to do and say what one pleases, but the liberty to do and say what *the brotherhood* (the community) *will allow and protect*," is about to publish a work on the Elements of Moral Philosophy. What could be more impudent than for such a man to set himself up as a teacher of ethics?

HOUSEHOLD WORDS (*American Reprint*) for July contains the following articles, viz.: All up with Everything; Attraction and Repulsion; Nemesis—in four Chapters; Madame Freschon's; The Market; Proposals for a National Jest Book; Bond and Free—in four Chapters; The Love Test; Economic Botany; A Summer Night's Dream; Railway Dreaming; Black Thursday; A British Interest Betrayed; Dawn; Epidemics; More Sundays Abroad; Mr. Rowland's; Time's Sponge; Fallen Among Thieves; Ragged Robin; Alice; Strychnine; A Fearful Night; Banking. New York, Dix, Edwards & Co., 321 Broadway.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 683, opens with a very interesting paper, from the *National Review*, on the "Early English Explorers," and contains beside a choice variety of matter from the usual sources. 343 Broadway.

Summary.

The lady to whom Mr. John Van Buren is to be united is said to be the daughter of the late John C. Calhoun.

The New York *Sun* says that Mr. Buchanan is a "ripe stateaman." He is a good deal too ripe—so ripe as to be thoroughly rotten.—*Washington Organ.*

The *Post* is in a great deal of trouble because Fremont and his companions were once obliged to "eat dog flesh." Better eat dog than *dirt*, Mr. *Post.*—*Boston Atlas.*

Franklin Pierce was elected to the Presidency by an overwhelming majority of the nation because he was not known. He has been dropped by general consent because he *is.*—*Washington Organ.*

WHEN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OCCURS.—The day fixed for the election of electors to elect a President and Vice-President of the United States is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. It will fall this year upon the fourth day of the month.

Mr. Barnum has received an offer from the Sydenham Crystal Palace, in England, of five thousand dollars a year, to go over there and take charge of one of its departments.—*Sunday Courier.*

CONCISE.—At the recent examination of one of the schools in this city, a very small boy was asked to define the meaning of the word "progress." He hesitated a moment, and then, in a clear voice, answered, "Go-a-head!"—*Cambridge Chronicle.*

SLAVES EMANCIPATED.—Thirty-two negroes, who had been emancipated by their masters, in Virginia, arrived in Jefferson, County, Pa., on Monday last, in charge of a white man, who is to colonize them in the vicinity of Mt. Pleasant.—*Evangelist.*

COAT OF ARMS TO BE WORN BY ALL DESCENDANTS OF SENATOR BUTLER'S "FATHER'S AUNT."—A bleeding head on a field of crimson. Two bludgeons rampant—a figure of freedom couchant—a rope pendant, with P. Brooks, Esq., at the end on't. Legend.—"CANAMUS."—*Boston Atlas.*

FUGITIVE SLAVES FOR CANADA.—Some nine fugitive slaves were forwarded on one of the trains carrying out the Mormon emigrants, this noon. They reached this city by the "Underground Railroad," and were forwarded by agents who manage to keep above ground and on the look-out for arrivals of the kind.—*Albany Argus.*

A clergyman in New Hampshire, last week, according to the *Congregational Journal*, "exchanged," and, apologizing because he was very poorly prepared to speak, said he had hastily *thrown a few thoughts together*, to which he invited their attention. He then pronounced a sermon which was composed and published by the late Dr. Woods, of Andover.

A WOMAN TO BE EXECUTED.—A female slave has been sentenced to be hanged in Powhattan County, Virginia, for the murder of her baby.

[The baby was killed, probably, to save it from a life of slavery.]

WHAT DEMOCRACY HAS IN STORE FOR THE NORTH.—"The time is close at hand when such statesmen as Sumner and Hale will have justice, full justice, done them; *when, in short, an Abolitionist will be lynched as readily in New York and Boston as in Charleston or New Orleans.*"—*N. Y. Day Book* (*a Democratic paper*).

Late heavy rains at Jamaica have washed up a diabolical instrument of human torture; it is made of iron hoops with screws, and is so constructed as to fit the largest or the smallest person; attached to it are manacles for the hands. The inside of the knee-bars and the resting place for the soles of the feet are studded with spikes. When found, the perfect skeleton of a negress was enclosed in the instrument.

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—The Hagerstown (Md.) *Chronicle* states that, on Sunday night last, five slaves belonging to Mr. George Shaffer, of Funkstown, and three of Mr. Claggett's, of the same place, decamped for the North. They came to Hagarstown and stole two horses from Mr. Snider's livery-stable, and a carriage from Mr. John L. Underwood, in which they started at a rapid rate for Pennsylvania.

DOCTORS DISAGREE.—"We cannot defend them [the laws of Kansas], we ought not to do it, and I have no respect for the man who makes the attempt."—*Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina.*

"I regret the necessity for such legislation; but wherever slavery exists as an institution, laws of that character must be adopted."—*Mr. Pugh, of Ohio.*

ARREST OF SLAVE ABDUCTORS.—Augustus Dorton, Shadrack Dorton, Charles Fort, Thos. Skinner, Lewis Cannac and Americus Gray have been arrested in Maryland for abducting five slaves, the property of Joseph C. Wilson, of Baltimore. The Baltimore *Patriot* gives no particulars, but says "the affair appears to be one of great importance to slaveholders in this State."

DEATH OF SAMUEL GURNEY.—An English paper of the 6th ult., contains the following:

"We learn with regret the death of Samuel Gurney, the respected head of the firm of Messrs. Overend, Gurney & Co. The melancholy event took place at Paris, yesterday. Samuel Gurney was in his 71st year."

Hon. Gerrit Smith dined at the Onondaga Temperance House yesterday. He is borrowing money to send soldiers to Kansas. He sent five hundred dollars to Chicago last week for that purpose. He regrets deeply that the citizens of Syracuse did not fall in with his proposition to raise a million, himself paying $10,000.—*Syracuse Journal.*

The Kansas subscription in Worcester has reached the sum of about $8,400, and is still increasing. Among the subscribers are Gov. Lincoln, $100; Charles Thurber, $100; Henry S. Washburn, $100; Dr. Joseph Sargent, $100; Rev. A. M. Morrison, $100; Gen. Charles Devens, Jr., late U. S. Marshal, $50; Judge Kinnicut, $50.

The Buffalo *Express* says: "It is stated that no less than forty-three fugitive slaves have passed through Albany, on their way to Canada, within a few weeks. Never was the peculiar property of the South as lively and active as at present. Chattels with legs are precarious possessions at best. Now you see them and now you don't—ten—twenty—thirty dollars, you can't tell which cup the little joker is under."

UNDERGROUND R. R.—Eight fugitives passed through this city on Wednesday evening, by the underground road, on a pleasure tour to the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. Brother Loguan talks of keeping a Hotel Register, after the manner of aristocratic establishments, for the purpose of recording the names of his guests, and having them published.—*Syracuse Journal.*

THE VOTE OF LANCASTER COUNTY.—The friends of Mr. Buchanan have sent abroad the boast that he will have six thousand majority in this county! And some of them have the bump of hope so marvellously developed as to credit such presumption here. Instead of six thousand majority for Mr. Buchanan, there will be more than *three thousand against him*, in this county. Mark this prediction. No one acquainted with public opinion in the county will put it at less; and the probability is that it will be much more.—*Lancaster Ind. Whig.*

A PETTICOAT FOR BROOKS.—One of Holmes's patent seamless whalebone skirts has been sent to P. S. Brooks, from Concord, Mass., in the name of all the cowards in the United States. The donors in their letter say:

"We have chosen this particular skirt because it may serve you as a protection from a chance application of the rattan, and because it is very unlike those memorable garments which, in the Revolutionary times, some odious bold creatures tore up to help make cartridges."

APT QUOTATION.

> A modest, sensible, and well-bred man
> Would not insult me, and no other can.

A good deal of inquiry has been raised as to the authorship of the couplet quoted by Mr. Seward, in his admirable reply, in the Senate, to the taunting inquiry of Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, as to what he should say or do if a Senator were to insult him grossly, charging him with falsehood, &c. The lines are from Cowper.—*Boston Transcript.*

The value of the products of the industry of Massachusetts, for the year ending June 1, 1855, was $295,820,681 79, a sum that would have paid for the whole cotton crop of the United States in 1850, at thirty cents the pound. We advise those who are continually jabbering about the cotton-growing States, and their importance to all creation, to take this fact into serious consideration.

HE KNEW HE WAS IN WASHINGTON.—Judge Kellogg, a venerable citizen of Michigan, arrived in this city on Saturday evening. It was his first visit to the Federal Capital; and when the cars stopped, he was a little uncertain where he was; but as he noticed that all the passengers were leaving the cars, he followed suit. As be entered the main hall of the depot, he saw a man caning another ferociously, all over the room. "When I saw that," says the Judge, "*I knew I was in Washington.*"

COL. BUGG—what a name—one of the delegates from Tennessee to the Cincinnati Convention, has brought a slave with him, and not only defies the Abolitionists to get him away, but offers a reward of $1,000 in the event of success. It is a safe boast; we can think of no place in which a slave would be safer to his master than in the Cincinnati Convention. Col. Bugg did wisely. His slave might have run away had he left him at home; but no nigger could make his way through the Northern dough with which Cincinnati is surrounded this week.—*Providence Journal.*

A BIT OF A COLLEGE ROW.—A New Haven correspondent informs us that another disturbance occurred between about thirty students of Yale Cogelle and the "Townies," or town's people, on Saturday night, in which several on both sides were injured. The fight originated in a quarrel between a Southern student and another young man, concerning the proper epithet which should be applied to Preston S. Brooks in consideration of his assault on Senator Sumner. One declared that he was a coward, and the other insisted that he was a gentleman. The dispute ended in a personal conflict between the parties and their respective partisans, which was arrested, as were many of the participants, by the Police.—*Times.*

A BRIBE REFUSED.—We are told that a colored man in our village—who is far from rich, and who has a family to support—spurned the offer of $50, good money, direct from Uncle Sam's treasury, which was tendered to him as a bribe for his vote and influence at the late election. That man is rich, though the length of his rent-roll may be only the most infinitessimal degree of an inch; and he is noble, though his great heart beats under a dark skin, and though he is passed in the daily walks of life as among those who, by a certain portion of our community, are thought fit only for chattels in Southern houses, and for live stock on Southern auction-blocks.—*Exeter* (*N. H.*) *News-Letter.*

A minister having been recently found fault with by one of his parishioners for thumping in the pulpit a new copy of the book of God, replied, in extenuation of his sin, that Moses, when he came down from the mount with the tables of stone on which the moral law was engraven in his hands, and beheld the people worshipping a golden calf, indignantly dashed the tables in pieces; and that if it was right for Moses, in a fit of nervous excitement, in view of sin, thus to treat the law, it was right for him, when he beheld so many of his audience asleep and others carnally secure in their iniquity, to get their attention by hammering the Bible.—*Religious Herald.*

MR. BROOKS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—Accounts from Washington report that Mr. P. S. Brooks, of South Carolina, has grown thin and haggard in his personal appearance, since his "brutal, cowardly and murderous" assault on Senator Sumner. Some persons report that he has lost at least twenty-five pounds of flesh since the affair. The protests of the delegates to the Cincinnati Convention from the free States, against his attendance upon its sessions, revealed to him the actual state of the public pulse. Canes, pitchers and other testimonials are but poor returns for the infamy with which his name will be forever associated in history.—*Bost. Trans.*

The preacher has an immense advantage over all other public speakers—is completely master of the situation. Like the writer of imaginary conversation, he may put what imbecilities he pleases into the mouths of his antagonists, and swell with triumph when he has refuted them. He may riot in gratuitous assertions, confident that no man will contradict him; he may exercise perfect free-will in logic, and invent illustrative experience; he may give an evangelical edition of history with the inconvenient facts omitted; all this he may do with impunity, certain that those of his hearers who are not sympathizing are not listening.

By way of New Orleans we have San Francisco dates to the 5th of June. The culprits Casey and Cora were hung on the day that Mr. King was buried. Martial law has been declared in San Francisco. Many supposed culprits had been arrested by the Vigilance Committee, among them the well-known fighting Irishman, formerly of this city, Yankee Sullivan. Soon after being locked up, Sullivan committed suicide, but left a confession of importance in regard to the election frauds. There had been some signs of opposition to the Vigilance Committee, but the people seem to be very largely on their side. Other news unimportant. Indian hostilities in Oregon had been partially suppressed.

A SECTARIAN DOG.—A friend of ours has a dog which exhibits remarkable sectarian preferences, a measure of bigotry which even the most bigoted bipeds rarely indulge in. At the sound of the bell of the Orthodox Church the dog begins to howl, yelping rather more rapid and dismally when the Baptist bell salutes his ear, but no sooner does the Unitarian bell ring than the discordant noise instantly ceases and he becomes quiet. The ringing of the Unitarian bell never disturbs the dog, but at the first sound of either of the other bells he commences his wailing. This is a fact, and it involves so dogmatical a question that we are unable satisfactorily to solve it, and must leave others to work out the puzzle.—*Nantucket Inquirer.*

BERTHS IN RAILROAD CARS.—The Illinois Central Railroad are now introducing upon their road a new style of passenger cars, which are far ahead of anything in that line yet in the West. Some of these contain six state rooms, each having two seats with cushioned backs, long enough for a person to lie upon. The backs of the seats are hung with hinges at the upper edge, so that they may be turned up at pleasure, thus forming two single berths, one over the other, where persons may sleep with all the comfort imaginable. In one end of the car is a small wash room, with marble wash bowl, looking glass, &c. On the opposite side of the car from the state rooms is a row of seats with revolving backs, similar to barbers' chairs, so arranged that the occupant may sit straight or recline in an easy attitude at pleasure. The other cars have each two or three similar state rooms.

SUNDAY AMUSEMENTS—A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.—In the first column of the editorial page of the New Orleans *True Delta*, of May 16, we find the following:

"The Summer amusements, we observe, are about fairly commencing. A dog fight for $500 will come off on Sunday next, at 12 o'clock, at the American Cock-pit, on Gravier street, opposite the Gaiety Theatre. A programme of the battle will be found in our advertising columns."

The following is the programme referred to:

"MATCH FOR $500.—*Grand Sport for Dog Fanciers.*—The long-talked-of match between the celebrated fighting dogs, *Spot* and *Jack*, belonging to two gentlemen of this city, will take place at the American Cock-pit, on Gravier street, opposite Gaiety Theatre, on SUNDAY, the 18th inst., at 12 o'clock, precisely. Admission—One Dollar."

A FEAST OF VENISON.—At the great meeting held in Boston on Monday evening to ratify the nominations made at the Philadelphia Convention, Mr. Swift, one of the speakers, enlivened the proceedings with a joke or two. The following is from the report of the Boston *Journal*:

"He spoke of Colonel Fremont, and of the taunt which the Boston *Post* has thrown out against him, that he has been obliged, in his explorations, to live on dog's flesh.

"This he did, the speaker remarked, in the service of his country, and the people begin to think it is time for him to change his diet. They proposed that he shall eat dog's flesh no longer, but that he shall live on venison, and, if he was not mistaken, a fine old *Buck* would be served up for him about the 7th of November next."

I have already mentioned, among Mr. Brooks's testimonials for his recent achievement, the live oak, silver-topped cane presented by Northern shipmasters doing business in Charleston, which he is said naturally to prize above the others, on account of the superiority it manifests to local prejudice on the part of the donors. Let me mention another, which came by Adams's Express, purporting to be the gift of "the Alleghanies of Virginia." This consists of three well-pronged hickory sticks, each marked with a card attached, on which are these words: "For occasional use." Mr. Brooks, as I understand, is instructed by the givers to present one of these canes to Mr. Sumner, one to Mr. Wilson, and one to Senator Wade, of Ohio. For some reason, however, the consignee has not complied, possibly regarding the request as a joke not worth carrying out. What action the injured Senators will take to obtain the property remains to be seen.—*Cor. Evening Post.*

The Worcester *Transcript* speaks contemptuously of certain men in the country, styling them "ultra radicals like Giddings, whose crazy zeal and intemperate acts" should be treated with disapprobation and censure. Just think of it! the "crazy zeal" of Joshua R. Giddings, that bold, earnest, incorruptible man, who has borne himself so nobly in Congress, through all the dark days, when, as an unblenching champion of freedom, he was there almost alone, and who, through long years of faithful service, has been the special object of pro-slavery abuse and vituperation, while he has been watched with sympathy and admiration by every earnest lover of freedom in the land! It was all "crazy zeal," was it? And this kind of talk indicates a disposition to forget all party ties and unite truly against the Slave Power, does it? Mend your speech, friend *Transcript*; and tarry in Jericho until your beard grows, before you again employ the vocabulary of vituperation against such men as Joshua R. Giddings.—*Boston Telegraph.*

A KIDNAPPER PROSECUTED.—We are pleased to learn that Rosetta Armstead, whom the Rev. Mr. Dennison undertook to send through Ohio as a slave, but who was rescued and declared free by the State Courts, has instituted a suit against the Louisville Pastor for the recovery of $10,000 damages for false imprisonment. Rosetta was rescued on the 3d of March, in Columbus, and was declared free by a Judge of Probate in that city. She was afterwards stolen by the Rev. Kidnapper and his agent, and taken to Cincinnati, where she was tried simultaneously for her freedom on a writ of Habeas Corpus, before Judge Parker, and on a kidnapping warrant before Commissioner Pendery, both of whom decided in favour of her freedom. For these arrests and imprisonments the suit is brought. We trust that Miss Armstead may receive some measure of pecuniary justice from the man who has robbed her of the fruit of her labour and sought to despoil her of her freedom.—*Bugle.*

Among the laws framed by the Border Ruffian Legislature of Kansas is one which enacts that any person enticing, conveying away or kidnapping a *white child* from its parents or guardians in the Territory of Kansas shall suffer the penalty of *six months' imprisonment in the county jail*, and be further liable to such fine as the discretion of the Court may suggest.

Another law makes the penalty for enticing, conveying away, or kidnapping a *negro child* in said Territory—DEATH! So, for stealing a *white baby*, six months' imprisonment is the humane and just extent of the law. For stealing a *negro baby*, DEATH!

In view of this remarkable contrast, a Western journal pertinently asks, "Who are the negro worshippers now?"—*Boston Atlas.*

KANSAS AND NORTH-WEST MISSOURI.—The following is an extract from a letter written by a merchant in Missouri to a friend now in this city:

"———, Mo., June 19.

"S. returned from up the Missouri river Saturday evening. In the immediate vicinity of Kansas Territory nearly all business is stopped except the sale of whiskey. If ever there was a reign of terror in which no opposing opinion is for a moment tolerated, it now exists in Kansas and North-West Missouri. Even a neutral man cannot live there in peace. I hope the people of the North will quit talking and passing resolutions—put their hands deep in their purses, and send able-bodied and strong-hearted men into the Territory. *Count the cost*, and not send men there to starve or leave the field."

SLIGHTLY INTOXICATED.—One of the correspondents of *The Tribune* in Philadelphia, giving an account of the Republican Convention, says:

"Outside the Hall, in their hotel life, the members may be quoted equally for their good deportment. You may see fifty or a hundred in the bar-room and not one drinking at the bar; and besides, none of the large, loose expletives which distinguish the worshippers at the shrine of alcohol. Compare this with a certain party whose family altars take their name from hoary drinking-shops, and whose orgies at Cincinnati lately were celebrated in art and poetry. Moral respectability, good manners, high breeding, no less exalt the prominent men of the Republican party than does the speciality of their organization—opposition to slavery and respect for the rights of labour. The affinities between the overbearing rudeness of mere overseer plantation life and the rowdy rabblement of Five Points are dictated by a law as inevitable as that of chemical precipitations; and so, too, the culture and refinement which, in harmony with the beneficent arts of the century, has measured the altitude of Work and the dignity of Man must be symbolized in the outward bearing of the gentleman."

A SLAVER IN PORT.—It was noticed the other day, in the proceedings of the United States District Court, that the schooner C. F. A. Cole has been libelled and condemned for being engaged in the slave trade. Some time in May last, the schooner went ashore in the Chesapeake, at the mouth of the Potomac River, and was subsequently raised and brought up to this city by several pilots, who libelled her to recover salvage. No crew was found near her or known to escape from her, and on being raised and her bottom examined, five augur holes were found in it, showing that she was cast away intentionally. She had also a slave deck and seventy casks of water on board, together with grated hatches and other unmistakeable evidences of the illicit trade she had been pursuing. An information was lodged against her for the offence, and she was taken in charge by the United States authorities. The Court decreed one half her value to the pilots as salvage, and ordered her condemnation and sale for the offence against the laws. No one has come forward to claim her, and it is not presumable that any one will do so. Having landed a cargo of slaves at some port in the West Indies, her owners and crew escaped from her in the Chesapeake, casting the vessel away.—*Baltimore Sun, 24th ult.*

FREEDOM IN VIRGINIA.—The citizens of Fauquier County, Va., have held a public meeting for the express purpose of uttering denunciations against Mr. J. C. Underwood, who appeared in the Republican Convention as a delegate from Virginia. The resolutions which were adopted on the occasion are not remarkable for moderation. They declare it a libel to impute to Virginians any weakness like that of a love of Free-Soil doctrine, and are loud-voiced in praise of the Union. But the demonstration did not end here. A Committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Underwood, to inform him of the sentiments of the meeting, and to hint that "it was deemed just and advisable" *for him to leave the State* as soon as possible. We do not learn that Mr. Underwood has yet obeyed this peremptory mandate. The order savours of the tone that Border Ruffians employ in Kansas, and the results may be similar. Mr. Underwood may find it essential to his safety to withdraw to some other locality in which he can exercise the privilege of thinking and speaking as he pleases. In any event, his is a new instance to show that persecution for opinion's sake is not yet done away with. Transplantation of Ruffianism from Kansas to Virginia appears to aggravate the severity of the symptoms.—*Times.*

OLIVER CORNERED.—The testimony in proof of the fact that Mr. Oliver of the Kansas investigating committee was at the head of a company of Missourians who invaded Kansas and voted was taken before that committee at Leavenworth, the 20th ult. It was positive and undeniable, coming as it did from several Missourians who voted under Oliver's lead. For instance:

Joseph Parker, sworn—Live in Atchison County; came from Buchanan County, Mo., in 1854; was at the March election, 1855; saw non-residents of the district, whom he had known as residents of Buchanan County, and who have been residents of that County since, and still are residents of Missouri. Witness here gave the names of a number of those he then knew who were there with the company—among them *Major Oliver* of the commission. There were nearly 300 of these men there; Major Oliver made a speech to them—a first-rate speech. To a question of Oliver, he said: "You made a fine speech, and a peace, or compromising one; that you thought all parties there had an equal right to vote." Here Oliver interrupted and said: "Witness, I did not justify men coming to vote from Missouri *as an abstract proposition, but merely as a corrective to the Emigrant Aid Society?*" Witness: "I did not hear you explain it *just exactly in that way*, but you justified them in some way."

A few days since, Mr. Brenton, of Indiana, a lame gentleman, who is dependent upon *crutches* for his locomotion, read to a Southern member, a friend, what he intended to say in the debate on the resolution of expulsion. The Southern member listened courteously, and, when Mr. Brenton had finished, said: "You must not, under any circumstances, make that speech. You will not be *permitted* to make it: and it is my duty to tell you that WE *have gravely determined not to* ALLOW *any of you to pursue such a course.* WE WILL NOT PERMIT IT"! Mr. Brenton reported what was said, to friends in his vicinity, and the consequence was, that from that moment every man who can make himself understood determined to speak, fully, freely and in plain language, just what he thinks of the Brooks outrage, be the consequences what they may.—*Washington Correspondence of N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.*

Mr. Brenton is an advantageous man to assault. A man who is dependent upon crutches must be quite as helpless as a strong man like Sumner with his legs confined under his desk and his head bent down. If Brooks's wind is any ways good, we should think he might even assail Brenton after running up the capitol steps, as, following the advice of Edmunson, he thought it prudent *not* to do in Sumner's case. Lest Brenton should lift one of his crutches to strike his assailant, it would be well to have Keitt on hand to strike the other crutch, and knock it out by a dexterous blow, and then the field would be clear for the exercise of the bludgeon. It is clear that Brenton presents "salient points" such as no other member of Congress offers, and we expect at an early day to hear that he is satisfactorily disposed of.—*Boston Telegraph.*

MARRIED.

LAING—TRUMAN.—On the 26th ult., in accordance with the order of the Society of Friends, Henry M. Laing to Anna, daughter of George and Catharine Truman, all of Philadelphia.

Special Notices.

☞ WORCESTER, Mass.—PARKER PILLSBURY, S. S. FOSTER and JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be the speakers at an Anti-Slavery Meeting, Sunday, July 6, at Horticultural Hall.

☞ SOUTHBORO', Mass.—An Anti-Slavery Meeting will be held, on Sunday next, July 6th, at the Unitarian meeting-house (usual hours, a. m. and p. m.), at which CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will address the congregation.

☞ PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak on American Slavery in Providence on Sunday next, July 6th, the place and hours to be named in local bills.

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April 15, 1856. [4t]

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE MOURNER.

BY THE HON. MRS. NORTON.

The following most beautiful poem has been just sent to us by an English lady, to whom it was given in manuscript, by her friend the authoress. We believe it is now first published.—*Home Journal.*

I SAW the widower mournfully stand,
Gazing out o'er sea and land;
O'er the yellow corn, and waving trees,
And blue stream rippling in the breeze.
O! beautiful seem the earth and sky—
Why does he heave that bitter sigh?
Vain are the sunshine and brightness to him;
His heart is heavy, his eyes are dim.
His thoughts are not with the moaning sea,
Though his gaze be fixed on it vacantly;
His thoughts are far where the dark boughs wave
O'er the silent rest of his Mary's grave.
He starts, and brushes away a tear,
For the still small voices are in his ear
Of the bright-haired angels his Mary left
To comfort her lonely and long bereft.
With a gush of sorrow he turns to press
Her little ones close with a fond caress.
And they sigh; O! not because Mary sleeps
(For she is forgotten!)—but that he weeps.
Yes, she is forgotten! The patient love,
The tenderness of that meek-eyed dove,
The voice that rose on the evening air,
To bid them kneel to the God of prayer;
The joyous tones that greeted them, when
After awhile, she came again;
The pressure soft of her rose-leaved cheek;
The touch of her hand, as, white and weak,
She laid it on each shining head,
And blessed the sons of the early dead;
All is forgotten! All passed away!
Like the fading close of a summer day;
Or the sound of her voice (though they scarce can tell
Whose voice it was they loved so well)
Comes with their laughter, a short sweet dream,
As the breeze blows over the gentle stream,
Rippling a moment its quiet breast,
And leaving it then to its sunny rest.
But *he*—O! deep in his inmost soul,
Which has drunk to the dregs of sorrow's bowl,
Her look and her smile, and the lightest word
Of the musical voice he so often heard,
And never may hear on earth again,
Though he loves it more than he loved it then,
Are buried, at times to rise unbid,
And force hot ears to the burning lid.
Her mother beloved may learn to forget,
But he will remember and weep for her yet.
Oh! while the heart where her head hath lain
In its hours of joy, its sighs of pain;
While the hand which so oft hath been clasped in hers,
In the twilight hour when nothing stirs,
Beat with the deep full pulse of life,
Can he forget his gentle wife?
Many may love him, and he in truth
May love, *but not with the love of his youth.*
Ever around his joy will come
A stealing sigh for his long-loved home,
And *her* step, and *her* voice, will go glidingly by
Through the desolate halls of his memory.

TIME'S SPONGE.

THERE are a few curiosities of our existing criminal law that wait to be, as Sir Matthew Hale would say, laid flat. A good many have been laid flat since his time; for that famous Judge and Historian of the Pleas of the Crown lived in Stuart days, and died in the year sixteen hundred and seventy-six. A great many, he tells us, had been laid flat when he lived; for instance, it had ceased to be felony and death to sell a horse to a Scotchman.

Jack Cade, if Shakspeare knew his mind, meant that when he was king it should be felony to drink small beer; and that, we may say, looking at some actual cases, would have been no great sharpening of law. We have now not more executions in the country every year than used to be provided often in a single morning only. Seventy or eighty years ago, there were never less than a dozen culprits hung in a row after every Old Baily sessions; and Townsend, the Bow Street runner, said that he remembered a sessions of seventeen hundred and eighty-three, when Serjeant Adair was Recorder, after which forty were hanged at two executions. In earlier time, the lightest heed was taken of the punishment of death. It was no rare and solemn sentence, but staple judicial routine, that might be enlivened with a joke when possible, to colour its monotony. Thus, Lord Bacon tells of his father Sir Nicholas, that when appointed a Judge on the northern circuit, "He was by one of the malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life; which, when nothing he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on account of kindred, 'Prithee,' said my Lord Judge, 'how came that in?' 'Why, if it please you, my lord, your name is Bacon, and mine is Hog; and in all ages Hog and Bacon have been so near kindred that they are not to be separated.' 'Ay, but,' replied Judge Bacon, 'you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged; for Hog is not Bacon until it be well hanged.'"

Of course crime was not lessened by extreme severity. As for the punishment of death, Mr. Harmer, a great jail solicitor, said, in his evidence before the Criminal Law Commission, "In the course of my experience, I have found that the punishment of death has no terror on a common thief. I have very often heard thieves express their great dislike of being sent to the House of Correction, or the hulks, but I never heard one say that he was afraid of being hanged." Mr. Amos, Downing Professor of the Laws at Cambridge (upon whose recent very interesting sketch, Ruins of Time Exemplified in Sir Matthew Hale's History of the Pleas of the Crown, this article is wholly founded), suggests also the case of a person in a respectable station of life, who lived during the last century in Holborn Court, Gray's Inn, and was for a long time in the habit of breaking open and robbing chambers in the Inns of Court, without any suspicion attaching to him. It is remarkable that, during this period, he always went to Abingdon's coffee-house, in Holborn, on an execution-day, to see from thence the prisoners pass by in their carts to Tyburn. At no other time did he frequent that coffee-house.

The result of ordering men to do what they will not, or cannot do, is, when action of some kind is enforced, commonly absurd. The law used to compel jurymen, if they acquitted any accused man of murder, not merely to acquit him, but to name the guilty person. Whenever they could not do this to the satisfaction of their consciences, the juries declared that the real murder was John-a-Noakes. That person of whom we speak so often as Jack Noakes in friendly tones, has been declared guilty by jury after jury of a series of horrible atrocities. Away with him, then! Let him be laid flat! When larcenies were grand and petty, and a few shillings more or less in the value of a stolen article made the question one of life or death to the thief, juries used, in the most open way, to deal in what were called by Blackstone pious perjuries. It was a common thing for them to find that five-pound-notes, or ten-pound-notes of the Bank of England, were articles of the value of twelve pence, four shillings and sixpence, or twenty-nine shillings, as the humanity of the case required. In fact, the result of the too great stringency of law was a great laxity of practice, illustrated in the happiest way by the bleachers, who petitioned parliament to PROTECT them by withdrawing the capital punishment of stealing from bleaching-grounds.

Numerous, then, as the executions used to be, they did not represent a tithe or hundredth part of the amount of what was pronounced capital crime; nor the number of persons who were sentenced to death without the smallest intention of hanging them. We never were so savage as our laws have sometimes been. A short time before the abolition of capital punishment for stealing to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house, Lord Kenyon sentenced a young woman to death for that offence: whereupon she fainted, and the judge, in great agitation, exclaimed, "I don't mean to hang you! Will nobody tell her, I don't mean to hang her?" Of the pious perjuries, who does not feel that the chief crime was in the law, not in the administrator, and that the law must bear the heaviest weight of Sir Samuel Romilly's objection to the "looking upon the evasion of our criminal laws with so much favour as to regard the profanation of the name of God, in the very act of administering justice to men, as that which is in some degree acceptable to the Almighty, and as partaking of the nature of a religious duty!"

There used to be—as we suppose there are still—a great many delicacies in the laws having reference to homicide and burglary; but in Sir Matthew Hale's time, the knotty question of what was passable Latin for burglarious and burglar, in the framing of indictments, was THE delicacy of the season. More offenders escaped by the writing of burgariter, or burgenter, for burglariter, than by proof of innocence; but, although these errors were common and fatal flaws in an indictment, it was ruled that burgulariter was good Latin enough to serve the purposes of law.

Dipping very much at random into the amusing law sketch of Professor Amos, we fall upon some of the subtleties of homicide. Accidental homicide, if it arose out of the doing of a lawful act, was held excusable; if it arose out of a trespass, not a larceny, was manslaughter; but if it arose out of a larceny, was murder. Thus Mr. Eden put the case a hundred years ago: "A man, shooting at a bird, and not using proper and ordinary caution to prevent danger, unfortunately happeneth to kill his neighbour. The guilt of this man, in the eye of our law, and, consequently, the proportion of his punishment, will depend, partly on the nature, shape, and size of the bird; and partly on the intention of the man with respect to the bird; but will have no connection whatever with the act of homicide. If the bird chanceth in evidence to prove a wild pigeon, no man's property, it will be excusable homicide; if a tame fowl, and shot at for the amusement or improvement of the marksman, it will be felonious and manslaughter, because an unlawful tresspass on the property of another; lastly, if the bird were private property, and intended to be stolen, which must be collected from the circumstances, it will be murder." Hobbes, the philosopher, living in Hale's time, expressed the law in this form: "If a boy be robbing an apple-tree, and by some chance fall therefrom, and break the neck of a man standing underneath, the crime consists in a tresspass, to the damage, perhaps, of sixpence. Tresspass is an offence, but the falling is none, and it was not by the trespass, but by the falling, that the man was slain; yet Coke would have him hanged for it, as if he had fallen of malice prepense."

There was a case which combined, in a suggestive way, questions of homicide and burglary. A servant who had attempted to murder his master by giving him fifteen wounds with a hatchet, but without killing him, was convicted and executed; not for attempted assassination, but for constructive burglary, because, in order to enter his master's chamber, he had been obliged to lift up the latch of a door.

It has been argued, and we are not sure whether it ever was completely settled, whether it was burglary to break a cupboard open; and, of course, when the punishment of felony was death, such a case as the following was serious: Some servants in husbandry, left in charge of their master's team, entered his granary by means of a false key, and took out of it two bushels of beans which they gave to his horses. Out of eleven judges, three were of opinion that this was no felony; eight ruled for a conviction, some of the eight formally alleging that the robbery by the accused men was for their own gain, because by better feeding of the horses, their own labour would be lessened.

The idle subtleties that have been spent by criminal lawyers upon the subject of theft could scarcely be seen to more advantage than in the consideration of that element in thieving, which consists in carrying the stolen thing away; or, as the books called it, the asportavit. Thus it was held that if a prisoner removed a package from the head to the tail of a wagon, the asportavit was complete; but if he moved it only by lifting it up where it lay, and standing it on end, for the purpose of ripping it open, the asportavit was not complete, because every part of the package was not shown to have been moved. The central point of it might be exactly where it was before. This was understood by the poet who declared the asportavit to be complete as against him when "the Knave of Hearts, he stole some tarts, and—took them quite away."

There are one or two legal terms of which the meaning is perhaps not generally known. We need remind no one that lunacy is derived from an idea that madness is connected with the moon; but many may not be aware that felony is derived from an idea that felons are prompted by excess of gall. Felonies were crimes committed felleo animo, with a mind affected by the gall; and Hale was of opinion that the reason why a lunatic cannot be guilty of a crime is a want of gall. Then again, maiming is not any kind of wounding, but such wounding as lessens a man's power of battling in his own defence. Therefore, it was ruled that to knock out a man's front tooth is to maim him; but that he is not maimed by the knocking out of a grinder; because with a front tooth he can bite and tear an enemy, but with a grinder he can only masticate his food.

Lunatics and idiots, it was said, could not be criminals for want of gall; yet that they can destroy life is certain. Dr. Mayo relates that "an idiot in the hospital of Salzburg appearing to be singularly insusceptible of fear, an experiment of an appalling character, and of appalling consequences, was made upon him, as a means of putting his susceptibility to the test. It was proposed to produce in him the impression that he saw a dead man come to life. A person, accordingly, had himself laid out as a corpse and enveloped in a shroud; and the idiot was ordered to watch over the dead body. The idiot perceiving some motion in the corpse, desired it to lie still; but the pretended corpse raising itself in spite of this admonition, the idiot seized a hatchet, which, unluckily, was within his reach, and cut off first one of the feet of the unfortunate counterfeit, and then, unmoved by his cries, cut off his head. He then calmly resumed his station by the real corpse." One sees in such a story what is meant by there being no gall—or felony in the lunatic. Here is a ghastly murder without bitterness of wrath or criminal intent. As little was there of gall in a French child, five years and a half old, mentioned by Voltaire. This little boy, at Lyons, swore against his own mother minute evidence of sundry horrible offences, ending with a murder, and the particulars of throwing the dead body in the Rhone, all of which turned out to be false. The child having been suborned by two children of her accusers, had very nearly sent his mother to the stake—for sugar-plums!

We have an arbitrary way of fixing fourteen years as the age in relation to responsibility for certain capital offences. We take that age from the East, where puberty comes early, and it is not the sole trace of an origin from Constantinople in many of our statutes. The Code Napoléon is wiser. It determines that if an accused person be under the age of—not fourteen, but—sixteen, it shall be inquired of by the jury whether he acted with or without discernment. In the latter case he is acquitted; but is liable to be under due control. If, on the contrary, he be found to have acted with discernment, his punishment, it is decreed, shall be regulated in proportion to the full punishment of the offence, but never equal to it. Our old laws took little thought at all of any such distinction. In sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, a child between the ages of but eight and nine was hanged for arson at the Abingdon assizes. As late as the year seventeen hundred and eighty, a boy of fourteen was hanged for participating in a riot about Catholic Emancipation. It might be said, however, that a London street-boy is mature at ten. Account was given to a parliamentary committee of one of these unhappy creatures who during a career of five years had robbed to the amount of three thousand pounds. Besides numerous minor punishments, he had been sentenced to death; but, from compassion, sent to the Philanthropic Asylum instead of the gallows. Thence he escaped, and was for another offence transported for life—all, before the age of thirteen.

There were some niceties connected with the judicial treatment of the law of Escheat, or Confiscation, which led even to a necessity for bringing torture into common use. If prisoners liable to confiscation of their goods were mutes, that is to say refused to plead, there could be no attainder, and consequently no escheat. For this reason, in Sir Matthew Hale's time, it was the constant practice at Newgate to tie together with whipcord the two thumbs of any refractory person, and the whipcord with the aid of a parson soon produced the desired effect. If more were required, recourse was had to the peine forte et dure, the more horrible form of torture. A case is on record of a member of an ancient family in Yorkshire, who, in a fit of jealousy, had killed three of his children, his youngest child being from home at nurse. Proceeding to destroy the infant also, he was terrified by a storm, which awakened his remorse. He was arrested; in order to preserve the estate to his surviving child, he died mute—under the agonies of torture!

A case of a different kind is that of one William Dalhoit, who, a hundred years ago, was convicted at the Salisbury quarter-sessions of petty larceny, for stealing one penny; whereby his effects, consisting of bank notes to the amount of one hundred and eighty pounds and twenty guineas in money, were forfeited to the bishop as the lord of the manor. It so happened that the bishop had a conscience, and gave all the money back to the family, in this form, namely, one hundred pounds to the felon's father, the same to his daughter, and the remaining twenty shillings to himself. The old claims on confiscated goods were rarely, however, met in this way. Even kings were careful of the use they could make of such windfalls, and there was a great royal truth in the answer of James the First to the widow of Sir Walter Raleigh, who petitioned for the restitution of Sherborne Castle, that he "mun have it for Ker." Sylla the dictator is supposed to have been the inventor of such forms of confiscation, which in the reign of Louis the Fourth was defended by M. de Tourreil, a distinguished lawyer, by the express declaration, that "You must stab the heart of the father in the bosom of the son."

As we have fallen among kings, we may as well go on to make a note or two upon the old judicial view of treason, concerning which it may be said first, that there has been some confusion in the interpretation of the old word Imagine, in the declaration that it is treason, among other things, to imagine the king's death. It used to mean simply to plot, and in this sense the Psalmist is translated, "Why do the people imagine a vain thing?" In this sense Chaucer speaks of such imagining as a thing visible to the eyes:

"There saw I all the dark imagining
Of felony, and all the compassing,
The spoiler with the knife," &c.

We will speak only of high treason, not of the petit treason, which is murderous rebellion of a wife against her lord and husband; of a servant against his master, and so on; though as a memorial of the domestic suavity for which it was thought worth while to take thought specifically by our forefathers, we may mention one of Sir Matthew Hale's statements; that if a wife throws a poker at her maid's head, which by accident lights on her husband's head and kills him, that is petit treason. This sort of offence was only abolished in the time of George the Fourth, and classed with ordinary murder. We speak only of high treason, and of the good old punishment of traitors, who were to be hanged, cut down alive, embowelled while still living, then finally be quartered. This sentence was only humanized in the time of George the Third by the exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly; which were, for a long time, baffled by the protest of the crown officers, that he was breaking down "the bulwarks of the constitution." May we be pardoned a few terrible lines to show the old judicial state of things, as concerned treason, in all its horror? In Sir Matthew Hale's time, the regicide Harrison, when the executioner was in the act of disembowelling him, rose and gave that functionary a blow in the face. Hugh Peters, after being carried on a sledge to the scaffold, was made to sit thereon within the rails, to behold the execution of Cook, who had been attorney of the Commonwealth, and we are told that when Cook was cut down alive, and brought to be quartered, Colonel Turner ordered the sheriff's men to bring Peters near, that he might see it; and by-and-by the hangman came to him all besmeared in blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he tauntingly asked: Come, how do you like this work, Mr. Peters? how do you like it? He replied, Friend, you do not well to trample on a dying man.

More mildly, Shenstone, in his ballad of Jemmy Dawson, executed for the Scotch Rebellions, tells what reads like a true history of his sweetheart's following him to execution:

And severed was that beauteous neck,
Round which her arms had fondly closed;
And mangled was that faithful breast
On which her love-sick head reposed.

And ravished was that constant heart,
She did to every heart prefer;
For though it could its king forget,
'Twas true and loyal still to her.
Amid those unrelenting flames,
She bore his constant heart to see.

These couplets on treason are more harmless than a certain treasonable couplet made by a poor schoolmaster named Collynboic, who was, in the reign of Richard the Second, beheaded and quartered, as the chronicler Grafton tells, "for making a small rhyme." His misfortune was that the exigency of his verse compelled him to put hog when he meant boar: he could not help it for the life of him, and paid his life as penalty. Thus ran the small rhyme:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovell our Dog
Rule all England under the Hog;

"meaning by the Hog," says Grafton, "the dreadful wild Bore which was the King's cognisance, and because the first line ended in dog, the metrician could not, observing the regiment of meeter, ende the second verse in Bore, but called the Bore an Hogge."

When a traitor was condemned to be hung, drawn and quartered, that sentence was commonly preceded by the order that he should be carried on a hurdle to the place of execution. This hurdle was a merciful invention of the monks. The original sentence had been that the object of a royal vengeance should be dragged at the tail of a horse over the stones and through the mud, and so brought, already bruised and bleeding, to his death. In this way Prince David was drawn through Shrewsbury, and Wallace through London. Monks seem to have suggested the humane interposition of a hurdle, for in the reign of Edward the Third a judge, in condemning a criminal, is reported to have given especial order that "neither friars nor others" should dare to help the culprit with anything to rest upon in the drawing to the gallows.

We add only one more note from Professor Amos's suggestive book, and that must be about the affixing of the heads of traitors upon Temple Bar. The heads of the persons convicted of the Scotch Rebellion in seventeen forty-five were affixed on Temple Bar, until the place was so full that the remaining heads were sent to Carlisle for a like exhibition. In the newspaper called the *Post Boy* is the following notice for May the eighteenth, seventeen hundred and twenty-three, respecting Layer's head: "his head was carried to Newgate in order to be parboiled, and affixed upon Temple Bar this day."

Surely it is no matter of regret for us that in the course of time there are so many changes, so many ruins, so many monuments of social or judicial wisdom—

"That as things wiped out with a sponge, do perish."

Time, we are happy to know, still brandishes his sponge, and still there exist judicial curiosities doomed to, we hope, prompt effacement.—*Household Words.*

THE LATE SCENE IN THE U. S. SENATE IN AN ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW.

From The London News, June 12.

THE march of events in the United States is almost as important, and ought to be almost as interesting, to Englishmen as to Americans. In the domestic politics of the States we possess the key to the foreign policy of the government, and the mystery of the insults offered to England is solved by the graver wrongs offered to the *elite* of the American nation by the government, or under its connivance. Therefore it is that we have been anxious to keep the facts of the struggle about Kansas before the eyes of our readers, and for the same reason we now lay before them a brief narrative of a series of incidents which may not impossibly issue in a dissolution of the Union. Such a dissolution has been the occasional threat of many an angry State or disappointed party since the great nullification conflict, a quarter of a century ago, but the case of Massachusetts, of which we are now speaking, is wholly unlike that of passionate South Carolina. Massachusetts, the leading State of the Union, would no more hear of a dissolution of the Union twenty years ago than England would hear of restoring the Stuarts or of setting up a republican government, and gradual has been the approach to the verge of such dissolution, and very stringent must have been the force of circumstances which could bring the foremost, the most intelligent and the most staid of the group of States into such a position.

About eighteen years ago, a clergyman from New England, a citizen from Massachusetts, was settled at St. Louis, Missouri. Having denounced, by his missionary press, the denial of justice in a case of burning a negro alive, which prevented the murderers being brought to trial, he was driven out of the State, after his press and types had been thrown into the Mississippi. On the opposite bank of the river, at Alton, Illinois, which was not a slave State, he established his press again. There he remained, through many scenes of violence, quiet and inoffensive, but continuing to publish his paper. At length, after his press had been destroyed three times, he was shot; and it has been customary from that day forward to call Lovejoy the first martyr in the cause which is now approaching its crisis. Dr. Channing, as soon as the murder was known in Massachusetts, headed the citizens of Boston in a requisition to the municipal authorities for the use of Faneuil Hall—the old "Cradle of Liberty," as it has been called since the Revolution—for a public meeting, on occasion of Lovejoy's murder, in defence of the press. The authorities refused the use of the Hall, on the ground that public sentiment was oposed to such a meeting as was proposed. This stirred Dr. Channing to such a remonstrance as shamed the leading citizens to action, and the same requisition, bearing an immense mass of signatures, was presented again, with success. Very critical the occasion was; and there were moments when the friends of constitutional rights feared that all was lost, and that liberty of the press, and all the liberties that are implicated with it, would be sacrificed to dread of political danger on the one hand, and the cupidity of the merchants on the other. To Dr. Channing's low voice and quiet manner were opposed the loudness and the blustering of the Attorney-General of the State, who seemed to carry the waverers with him in his denunciations of the press as a troubler of the relations of the North and South; and all seemed lost, when a very young man made his first great speech—the first of a series with which no other American oratory can compare. Mr. Wendell Phillips, whose name is becoming more important to England every day, was a young citizen of good property and good family; and he obtained a hearing at once, and roused others to support the right, so that it finally prevailed. Mr. Wendell Phillips has for many years been the leader of the disunion party, foregoing all the usual aims of republican ambition, rather than take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Constitution, which countenances slavery, and is therein in direct opposition to the Constitution of his own State. Sooner than others, the disunion leaders saw that unconstitutional laws like the Fugitive Slave law and the Nebraska bill must be carried through the compromises of the Constitution; and they took their ground in good time, so that if others had joined them, the final collision and disruption of the Union might have been avoided.

Among the hearers at that critical meeting was a law-student, the favourite pupil of Judge Story—Mr. Charles Sumner, whose name is just now the label of the cause throughout the United States. Mr. Sumner lived for some time in London, and travelled extensively in our country. He made many friendships among us, and the selection of him as a victim of Southern violence is perhaps a fortunate circumstance, as the personal sympathy of many Englishmen will necessarily quicken their comprehension of American politics, in which Mr. Sumner is so deeply concerned. This gentleman's conclusion as to the right method of action was not the same as Mr. Phillips's, though their advocacy of their common principles was equally earnest. Mr. Sumner decided for political action, and entered Congress as a leader of the Free Soil party. He has for some time been one of the Senators from Massachusetts; the honest, plain spoken Abolitionist, Mr. Wilson, being the other.

The agitation caused in Boston and the rural districts by the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law in Burns's case so far brought the citizens to the point of practical action that they passed the Personal Liberty law, and are abiding by it, in opposition to all threats. The aid they have given to the free settlers in Kansas is well known; and the completest exposure of the betrayal of Kansas by the President and his creatures that has yet been made is to be found in the speech in the Senate of Mr. Sumner. Out of that speech has arisen the new crisis, which so fills every American mind that whole packets of letters and newspapers by the last mail contain no notice whatever of the quarrel with England. Mr. Sumner's speech was long and exhaustive. The reports given of it in the American papers vary so widely that it is impossible to judge whether it was or was not offensive in its personalities. If it was, this is a new feature in Mr. Sumner's oratory; and there is a strong presumption that it was not, in the fact that, while addressing a hostile auditory for two days, he was not once called to order. Mr. Butler, a Senator from South Carolina, came in for his share of Mr. Sumner's reply and accompanying censure. A consultation was held by some Southern Representatives the night after Mr. Sumner's speech, to decide how he should be punished and silenced, and it was under the directions of this clique that a member of the other house, Mr. Brooks, a nephew of Mr. Butler, took up Mr. Butler's quarrel—not by sending a challenge to Mr. Sumner, but by twice waylaying him on his way to the Senate Chamber, and finally attacking him there when he was incapable of self-defence. Mr. Sumner was writing at his desk, which was fixed to the floor, and he was also confined by the weight of the Senatorial arm-chair—he was alone in that part of the room, unarmed, in every way unprepared, when his enemy came behind him, and, without a word spoken, struck him violently on the head. Mr. Sumner sprang up with such force as to tear up the fastenings of his desk, but he fell unconscious, and was beaten as he lay till the person who mounted guard over his assailant was pushed aside, and the assailant himself overpowered. Mr. Sumner will not die of this. He is pronounced out of danger: but if he had died on the spot, the wrath of his State could not have been greater than it is. It will not be appeased by the conduct of the authorities at Washington, whose partiality in favour of the assailant, Brooks, is evident enough. Mr. Seward moved for a committee of inquiry into this breach of Senatorial privilege, and the committee could not, of course, be refused; but Mr. Seward is not on it, nor any other Northern man who can be supposed to have any bias against the South. The Washington magistrate saw no occasion for committing Brooks to prison, or for even taking bail for his appearance. Throughout Massachusetts and a great part of New England public meetings were immediately called. The first Boston meeting, instant and spontaneous, is very striking. Dr. Channing has been long in his grave; but the white-haired old Dr. Beecher, Mrs. Stowe's father, was there to open the meeting with prayer—according to the old custom of the State. To us the most impressive fact is that the general cry of this and the great subsequent meeting, composed of citizens of all politics and religions, all professions and parties, was for Wendell Phillips, the Abolitionist and disunion leader. All his speeches are splendid; and it may be imagined how this one will work. The situation of disunion, virtual before, will ere long become actual and recognised. The sentiment of the first meeting may be briefly expressed in the words of one of the speakers—"The blood of this Northern man, who had dared to stand up in the Senate of the United States under circumstances that would have discouraged a man of less ardour, less enthusiasm, and less courage—that blood now stains the Senate floor, and not all the water of the Potomac can wash it out." A prodigious meeting was held in Faneuil Hall the evening before the departure of the last mail; and the next will bring detailed accounts of the proceedings and of Mr. Phillips's speech. The New England Annual Convention was to take place the week after; and it may be confidently predicted that it will be more like the conventions of Washington's days than any that have been held since. Meantime this quarrel puts out of sight and out of mind the quarrel with England, and the President's purpose in aggravating that dispute will be so far baffled. Every man is repeating to himself and his neighbour that the blood of their representative now stains the Senate floor, and not all the water of the Potomac can wash it out. The next thing said is, that there is nothing for it but the discomfiture of the slave policy or separation from it, and that this would be the upshot, whether now or ten years hence.

A HYMN.

BY WILLIAM C. BRYANT.

Written for the recent Centennial Celebration at Bridgewater, Mass.

Two hundred times has June renewed
Her roses, since the day
When here, amid the lonely wood,
Our fathers met to pray.

Beside this gentle stream, that strayed
Through pathless deserts then,
The calm, heroic women prayed,
And grave, undaunted men.

Hymns on the ancient silence broke
From hearts that faltered not,
And undissembling lips that spoke
The free and guileless thought.

They prayed, and thanked the Mighty One
Who made their hearts so strong,
And led them towards the setting sun,
Beyond the reach of wrong.

For them he made that desert place
A pleasant heritage;
The cradle of a free-born race,
From peaceful age to age.

The plant they set, a little vine,
Hath stretched its boughs afar
To distant hills and streams that shine
Beneath the evening star.

Ours are their fields, those fields that smile
With Summer's early flowers:
Oh, let their fearless scorn of guile
And love of truth be ours.

A FINNISH LEGEND.

"ONCE upon a time there lived in Finland a very wild and wicked young man, who, after a long course of profanity and licentiousness, crowned all his bad deeds by becoming a Finn Blueheard. He married three young women almost at once, shut them up in a wicker basket, and burned them. No one knew the fate of the three poor girls; they had disappeared. That was all. One morning the young man was found stretched on the threshold of the door, dead, his body covered with dark blue spots. It was clear he had spent the night in wrestling with the Evil One and been overcome. [illegible] buried him, however, with the rites of the churc[illegible] morning the sacristan, going early to rin[illegible] saw to his horror the dead body of the y[illegible] they had buried standing erect in a nic[illegible] porch of the church. He ran to the p[illegible] ing some one had raised the body from its [illegible] it again. But up rose the corpse once more, came [illegible] to the porch that night, and appeared in its niche the following morning. Three times they reburied it; three times he rose again. At last the good man perceived that other powers were engaged in this, and he suffered the corpse to remain unmolested in its niche. Finally, only a skeleton was there, and no one passed it without the sign of the cross. Years passed away, and the story might have been forgotten, if the skeleton in the porch did not tend to keep its memory fresh. Perhaps it was a desire to get rid of such a monitor to his conscience that led another wild young man to resolve to have it displaced from its niche. Instead, however, of trying to do so himself, he engaged the services of a young girl, whose innocent mind made her devoid of fear. By the promise of a good reward, he prevailed on her to go one evening to the church and carry away the skeleton. She reached the outer porch, advanced to the niche, and approached the thing that had been so long erect there. But lo! instead of her extending her arms, the skeleton stretched out his. More horrible still, it spoke. It told her she must be squeezed to death in those dreadful arms, since she had dared to violate the repose of the dead. Her prayers and cries moved even a skeleton to pity her, and in its hollow voice it said: 'If you will save yourself, you may save me also. Go then into the church; there you will see three young girls kneeling before the altar. They are my three brides, whom I burned in one day. For that crime I am compelled to remain here. I can neither rest in the grave nor enter the threshold of the holy temple. Here I must remain forever unless I can obtain their pardon. For fifty years I have waited for this occasion of employing some one to ask them to pardon me: go, now, and do so.' The girl tremblingly opened the door of the church; the whole nave was lighted up as if for a grand festival; and the soft tones of a plaintive chant resounded throughout it. At the foot of the altar three young girls were kneeling, covered in a long white veil. The chant was by them. The poor mortal girl approached her spiritual sisters and, trembling, craved for the pardon for the skeleton at the porch door. 'No, no,' chanted the three spirits. 'No pardon for him.' The messenger returned with the fatal reply. 'Yet once more ask them, if not for my sake, for yours, to pardon me,' said the skeleton in answer; 'else shall you die.' She repeated her prayer to the three spirits with this addition. 'No, no; there is no pardon for him.' 'Yet once more try if you can prevail,' said the skeleton. Again she went, and, falling on her knees, cried to the three spirits, 'Pardon him, pardon him, for the sake of the Saviour!' He is pardoned, he is pardoned!' repeated each spirit. The chant ceased; the lights went out; the three spirit-brides disappeared, and the skeleton moved away from its niche; sunk down in its grave, and lay there ever after."—*A Summer in Northern Europe.*

THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE.

[A medical student at Paris says, in a letter to the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, that he once heard Magendie, the celebrated French physician and physiologist, open a lecture somewhat in the following terms:]

"GENTLEMEN: Medicine is a great humbug. I know it is called a science—science, indeed! It is nothing like science. Doctors are mere empirics, when they are not charlatans. We are as ignorant as men can be. Who knows anything in the world about medicine? Gentlemen, you have done me the honour to come here to attend my lectures, and I must tell you frankly now, in the beginning, that I know nothing in the world about medicine, and I don't know anybody who does know anything about it. Don't think for a moment that I haven't read the bills advertising the course of lectures at the Medical School; I know that this man teaches anatomy, that man teaches pathology, another man physiology, such a one therapeutics, such another materia medica—*Eh bien! et apres?* What's known about all that? Why, gentlemen, at the school of Montpelier (God knows it was famous enough in its day!) they discarded the study of anatomy, and taught nothing but the dispensary; and the doctors educated there knew just as much and were quite as successful as any others. I repeat it, nobody knows anything about medicine. True enough, we are gathering facts every day. We can produce typhus fever, for example, by injecting a certain substance into the veins of a dog; that's something; we can alleviate diabetes, and I see distinctly *we are fast approaching the day when phthisis can be cured as easily as any disease.*

"We are collecting facts in the right spirit; and I dare say in a century or so the accumulation of facts may enable our successors to form a medical science; but I repeat it to you, there is no such thing now as a medical science. Who can tell me how to cure the headache? or the gout? or diseases of the heart? Nobody. Oh! you tell me doctors cure people. I grant you, people are cured. But how are they cured? Gentlemen, nature does a great deal. Imagination does a great deal. Doctors do . . devilish little . . . when they don't do harm. Let me tell you, gentlemen, what I did when I was the head physician at Hotel Dieu. Some 3,000 or 4,000 patients passed through my hands every year. I divided the patients into two classes; with one, I followed the dispensary, and gave them the usual medicines, without having the least idea why or wherefore; to the other I gave bread pills and coloured water, without, of course, letting them know anything about it . . . and occasionally, gentlemen, I would create a third division, to whom I gave nothing whatever. These last would fret a good deal; they would feel they were neglected (sick people always feel they are neglected, unless they are well drugged [illegible] *les imbeciles!*), and [illegible] irritate themselves until they got really sick, [illegible] invariably came to the rescue, and all the perso[illegible] third class got well. There was a little mortality a[illegible] those who received but bread pills and coloured wa[illegible] and the mortality was greatest among those who we[illegible] carefully drugged according to the dispensary."

PROGRESSIVE GROWTH OF CITIES.

From Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.

LONDON is now the greatest concentration of human power the world has ever known. Will its supremacy be permanent? or will it, like its predecessors, be eclipsed by Western rivals?

New Yorkers do not doubt, and indeed have no reason to doubt, that their city, now numbering little more than one-third the population of London, will, within the next fifty years, be greater than the metropolis of the British Empire.

New York, with her immediate dependencies, numbers about 900,000. Since 1790, she has established a law of growth which doubles her population once in fifteen years. If this law continues to operate, she may be expected to possess 1,800,000 in 1871; 3,600,000 in 1886; and 7,200,000 in 1901. If twenty years be allowed New York as her future period of duplication, she would still overtake London by the end of fifty years. London *may* then have five millions; New York will almost certainly have more than that number.

Will the star of empire become stationary at New York?

The interior plain of North America has within itself more means to sustain a dense population in civilized comfort than any other region of the world. The star of empire cannot be arrested in its western course before it reaches this plain. Its most promising city at present, is Chicago. The law of its growth since 1840 seems to be a duplication within four years. In 1840 it numbered 4,479. In June of this year it will contain 88,000. At the same rate of increase carried forward, it would overtake New York within twenty years. If six years be allowed for each future duplication, Chicago would overtake New York in thirty-three years. If the growth of Chicago should in future be measured by a duplication every seven years, it would contain 5,622,000 in forty-two years. In 1901, forty-five years from this time, the central plain, including the Canadas, will contain about 80,000,000 of people. Its chief city may reasonably be expected to contain about one-tenth of this population. Before the end of this century, the cities and towns of the central plain will contain, with their suburbs, not less than half of the entire population; that is to say, forty-millions. How these millions shall be apportioned among the cities of that day is a subject for curious speculation.

Some twenty-eight years ago, it was predicted by the writer that one or more interior cities of North America would, within fifty years, become larger than New Orleans, and ultimately second only to New York. Cincinnati and St. Louis were then believed to be the favoured points. About sixteen years ago, canals and railways gave indications of their ability to transfer the seats of commerce of the interior plain from the river to the lake borders. It was then confidently asserted that the greatest cities would grow up at Chicago, Toledo, and other commercial points on the great lakes. To most men, at that time, the idea that any lake city, west of Buffalo, could become larger than that chief receptacle of lake commerce seemed as preposterous as did the opinion, a dozen years earlier, that New Orleans could be rivalled by Cincinnati. To him it appeared, as certain as the movement of time, that Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, and some other commercial points on the lakes, would become greater than Buffalo. Chicago leads the procession, having passed Buffalo the present year. Cleveland and Detroit are to follow next, to be succeeded by Toledo, which will certainly pass these and be only second to Chicago, if indeed she becomes not a successful rival of that city, in the long race for supremacy.

Between 1840 and 1850, the chief cities of the central plain, taken together, increased at the annual rate of 11 per cent. compounded. This rate was much exceeded by the most flourishing. St. Louis had an average annual increase of 18 per cent.; Chicago of over 20 per cent.; and Milwaukee of 26 per cent. Since 1850, for six years to June, 1856, Chicago has continued to increase at the average rate of 20 per cent. compounded yearly. Toledo has a little exceeded that rate. Detroit and Cleveland have had a like annual increase of 16 per cent. Of the Canadian cities of the plain, no one, except Montreal, can claim to be numbered among the [illegible]rts of the world.

J. W. S.

[illegible] AGAINST COLOUR

> "The [illegible] er, which
> I cannot not [illegible] to
> the contemptuou[illegible]
> best and most intellig[illegible]
> and treated Social equal[illegible]
> utterly out of the question. The [illegible]
> classes is one of lordly arrogance; towa[illegible]
> one of condescension and patronage. I have [illegible]
> gers' applied to the whole race by those high i[illegible]
> lower orders of the English it is the designation in gene[illegible]
> this too towards those of our own Caucasian bl[illegible]
> instinct of race to excuse their unju[illegible]
> virtue of Exeter Hall and Stafford Ho[illegible]
> out a blush, yet condemn, with pharisa[illegible]
> of the Negro and the white races in A[illegible]
> *Visit to India, China and Japan.*

No wonder that this distinguish[illegible] is disgusted and indignant with the [illegible] insolence of the prejudice against colour with which the Europeans in British India are infected; but a little reflection would have convinced him that "the virtue of Exeter Hall and of Stafford Hall" need not be accused of pharisaic zeal, because they have hitherto sent forth no such condemnation against it as they have meted out towards that which prevails in the United States. In England little is known of the social condition of British India, except by some of the military and the upper classes. The ties of blood, language and religion which unite us to America do not exist between us and the people of British India. India is far off; we have few relations there; the people do not write to us; we do not read their newspapers, and we therefore know and care very little about them. But when the English people learn as much about the social condition of India as they know of the United States, their voice will be heard and their influence exerted for the amelioration and elevation of her people. It is not more than twenty years since Mr. Abdy's *Travels in the United States* informed us of the extraordinary length to which the Americans carry their hatred of the coloured race. And at the present time there are hundreds of thousands of our population who have never heard of its existence, although they imbibe it rapidly enough when they cross the Atlantic. The truth is that in people in a low state of moral civilization—and of these there are plenty amongst all ranks and classes—there is a great proneness to indulge in class prejudices, and to look down from some imaginary height of their own upon those they consider beneath them. All aristocracies of birth, intellect, fortune, race and creed are flattering to the possessor, and are prized as valuable privileges. In our country the gradations of social position are innumerable, and are graduated to an inconceivable refinement. But the more striking the outward marks of distinction, the more insulting will be the assumption of superiority. Thus it is in the United States, British India, and every country so circumstanced. Yet we are amused to observe how the American lurked in the tone of Mr. Taylor's merited rebuke. He is especially shocked with the British prejudice because it is exhibited towards "our own Caucasian blood," and because there is no "instinct of race to excuse their injustice." We think Caucasian blood has nothing to do with the matter, and we do not believe in the instinct of race. The truth is the American prejudice against colour is so intense, and the antagonism produced by the institution of slavery so vehement, that the white race have succeeded in persuading themselves that their dislike to the blacks is no fault of their own, but is naturally implanted in them for some providential end, precisely like the antipathies between some of the lower animals.—*(London) Anti-Slavery Advocate.*

THE POWER AND UTILITY OF GLASS.—Those Phœnicians who first made glass did certainly not anticipate that they had thus created a charm by which man would hereafter obtain the most signal triumphs in science. They were pleased with its bright colouring, they fashioned it into graceful vessels, they shaped it into a thousand forms, but they knew not that a glance through the glassy pebble would open to their near-sighted eye the wonders of the universe. With the lens man governs the whole world. He tells the rays of the sun to come and depart at his bidding. He scatters them as he pleases, and he binds them together, until their united strength melts the very stone of stones, the hardest of earthly bodies, the diamond. Near-sighted or far-sighted he takes a glass, and the rays of light are made to fall where he pleases, so that he may see what nature seemed to have denied him. What a progress is this from the huge, unwieldly glass globe, filled with water, of which Seneca speaks with wonder, and which the Arab Al Huzem perhaps already employed to magnify small objects. Now, the general on the battle-field, and the bold sea-captain on the wide ocean, marshal their wide scattered forces by the aid of their glasses; but the greatest triumphs it accomplishes in the hands of the astronomer. The whole world lies before him; with one glance he looks through unmeasured space and into times unknown to man. The secrets of the universe are laid open to him; the stars reveal to him their eternal laws of the world, and his mind is lifted up to the infinite. Step by step the despised pebble thus becomes the teacher of mankind. He tempts the mind of man from invention to invention, he becomes glass, lens, telescope. And he is, perhaps, greater yet when he leads man not to the infinitely great, but to the infinitely small. How diminutive appears the microscope by the side of the gigantic telescope of Lord Rosse. And yet who dare say which is the greater, the world in the blue heavens above or the world in the drop of water? Truly, the pebble has become light itself. It has shown man two invisible worlds; the great, lost in unmeasurable distance; the small, lost in invisible diminutiveness. The pebble is the restless spirit of the world of stones that yearneth and travaileth [illegible]ght. It enters the service of man, and a slav [illegible] his master. It endows him with unknown wo[illegible] [illegible] him living, heaven-inspired thoughts: [illegible] "only a pebble."—*De Vere's Stray Le[illegible] [illegible] Nature.*

DISCOVERIES IN SCINDE.—An in[illegible] [illegible]tely been published in B[illegible] of Hyderabad in S[illegible] [illegible]cavations [illegible] Brahmin [illegible]ditio[illegible] [illegible]on [illegible] res by M[illegible] taining the site o[illegible] of the old [illegible] city—the cap[illegible] of Mohammeda[illegible] destroyed by fire [illegible] account of the wicke[illegible] tions of Mr. Ballasis se[illegible] was destroyed by some [illegible] which, probably, at the sa[illegible] the course of the Indus.

On no other supposition can a [illegible] that was at once so sudden and so [illegible] were found in every house that was o[illegible] streets, some crouched together in corne[illegible] buried; others crushed flat by a falling w[illegible] pieces of stone or brick still in some cases [illegible] fractured skull. Numerous coins and oth[illegible] have already been discovered, carved figures in [illegible] engravings on cornelian and agate, a set of ivory ch[illegible] men, and the like. The figures carved on objects c[illegible]nected with religious worship are Buddhist. From [illegible] fact of their being unmutilated, Mr. Bellasis co[illegible] it clear that the iconoclastic Mussulman invaders h[illegible] reached, or at least had not permanently annexed, [illegible]minadah at the time of its destruction, which be[illegible] ceived to have taken place about A. D. 1020.—Bom[illegible] *Correspondent of the Times.*

A GENTLEMAN once said he should like to set a [illegible] full of ladies adrift on the ocean to see what course th[illegible] would steer; a lady in the room replied, "That's e[illegible] told—they would steer to the Isle of Man, to be sur[illegible]

IN private, we must watch our thoughts; in the fami[illegible] our tempers; in company, our tongues.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

ELIZA L. S. THOMAS, M.D.,
PRACTICING PHYSICIAN,
No. 119 North Seventh street, between Wood and Callowh[illegible]
Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW BOARDING HOUSE—Respectable perso[illegible] be accommodated with genteel transient or permanent [illegible] by applying to the subscriber, No. 374 South street, below [illegible] Philadelphia.
WM. S[illegible]

THEODORE PARKER'S WORKS.—Just receiv[illegible] for sale at Anti-Slavery Office, Philadelphia—
PARKER'S ADDITIONAL SPEECHES. 2 vols.
PARKER'S DISCOURSE OF RELIGION. 1 vol.
Also, Portraits, large and elegant, of Parker, Phillips, Sumner [illegible] William Lloyd Garrison.

FRANKLIN WOOD, 104 South Fourth street, be[illegible] Walnut, Philadelphia.
CONVEYANCING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.
Real Estate bought and sold. Money procured or investe[illegible] Mortgage. First-class Ground Rents bought and sold on comm[illegible] Houses rented, Rents collected, &c. &c.
N. B. Marriage Certificates, Friends' ceremony drawn neatly [illegible] correctly.

CARRIAGE REPOSITORY.—The subscriber in[illegible] the public that he has opened his new Carriage Reposit[illegible] 156 Race street, below Fifth, where he intends to keep an assor[illegible] of new and second-hand Carriages for sale or exchange, or to [illegible] Carriages made to order on moderate terms. Carriages sold on [illegible] mission. Carriages neatly repaired. GEO. DODD, Philadelp[illegible]

CHARLES C. JACKSON, Tailor, 201 Arch street, be[illegible] Sixth street, Philadelphia, would respectfully invite [illegible] attention of his friends and the public to his establishment, w[illegible] a constant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, &c. [illegible] best quality, will be kept ready to make up to order in t[illegible] manner and on the most accommodating terms.

SUMMER DRY GOODS.—Dress Goods at redu[illegible] prices, to close them; Bareges; Fancy Silks; Chintzes; T[illegible] Men's and Boys' Linen Goods; Vestings and Coatings; Irish Lin[illegible] Quilts; Curtain materials; Embroidered Muslins; Black Mar[illegible] Silks; best makes of Cotton Shirtings and Sheetings; Grass Cl[illegible] wide and narrow, clean and stiff, for skirts.
SHARPLESS BROTHERS, 82 South Second stree[illegible]

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for superiority over all others in the manufacture of Trav[illegible] Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valices, Gum Shoes, Coaches Hobby-Ho[illegible] and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunk[illegible] descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship [illegible] Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.
THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer
130 Market street, S. W. cor. 4th, Philadelph[illegible]

PHRENOLOGICAL CABINET.—Fowlers, Wells [illegible] Phrenologists and Publishers, 231 Arch street, below Se[illegible] Philadelphia, furnish all works on Phrenology, Physiology, [illegible] Cure, Magnetism and Phonography, wholesale and retail, [illegible] York prices.
Professional examinations, with charts, and full writte[illegible] tions of character, day and evening. Cabinet free.

CONFECTIONERY.—Leatitia Bullock, No. 89 N[illegible] street, Phila., respectfully informs her friends and th[illegible] [illegible] is prepared to furnish Ice Creams, Water Ices, Jellies, [illegible] [illegible]c., of every description and of the very [illegible] [illegible] of Free Labour, and [illegible] [illegible]es and fam[illegible]

[illegible] to furnish[illegible]
[illegible]ENDERDINE, | WARNER JUSTICE.

PHRENOLOGY. — Removal. — William B. [illegible] Institute and Museum is now at the spacious (Simes) [illegible] 359 Chestnut street, above 12th, Philadelphia. He has, in a[illegible] to Phrenological Books and Busts, Stationery for sale. Open [illegible] veening to visitors—free—and for useful written description[illegible] mind and talents. From the handwriting (natural) the same [illegible] analyzed. Price $3.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFE[illegible] various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth st[illegible] Philadelphia. Warranted equal to any made in the Unite[illegible] EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favours, respectfully [illegible] continuance of the same. Please give us a call before purch[illegible] elsewhere. Patent slate-lined Refrigerators, Water Filters, &c [illegible] large assortment always on hand.
N. B. Sole Agency for Butterworth's celebrated Bank [illegible] Door Locks. These locks bid defiance to all lock picks, Hobbs incl[illegible]

ROBERT R. CORSON & CO., successors to Ba[illegible] PRICE & Co., have taken the Office recently occupied b[illegible] latter, at No. 53 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, and are no[illegible] pared to deliver Lehigh, Schuylkill and Locust Mountain COAL [illegible] best quality. Their knowledge of the Coal business, acquired [illegible] residence of both members of the firm in Schuylkill County, a[illegible] connection of one of them with B., P. & Co., in their wholesale [illegible] ness, for two years, warrants them in saying that they can b[illegible] sell on better terms than those of the trade who are not conv[illegible] with ALL the details of the business.
Orders respectfully solicited. ROBERT L. CORSON
CHARLES L. BA[illegible]
Offices, 53 South Fourth street, and Broad above Spruce stree[illegible] Philadelph[illegible]

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Bu[illegible]
Every one his own Salesman.
JONES & Co., of the Cresent One Price Clothing S[illegible] No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to havin[illegible] largest, most varied and fashionable stock of Clothing in Philad[illegible] made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one [illegible] salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, t[illegible] lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly var[illegible] *must* buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared [illegible] great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with t[illegible] assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price.
Remember the CRESCENT, in Market, above 6th, No. 2[illegible]0. [illegible]
JONES [illegible]

TO COUNTRY STOREKEEPERS.—The subscrib[illegible] on hand, of his own manufacture, a large assortmen[illegible] Misses' and Children's Leather, Kid and Morocco BOOTS S[illegible] GAITERS, of the best workmanship and materials, which he w[illegible] at as low wholesale prices as any person in the City. Buyer[illegible] get any sizes to make up assortments without having to pu[illegible] the smaller or more unsaleable sizes. WM. C. PARKE[illegible]
No. 91 North Sixth street, below Race, Philad[illegible]
N. B. Gaiter Uppers, ready for the last, sold to Country [illegible] makers at low prices. Also, Gum Shoes.

FAMILY FLOUR STORE, No. 35 North Fif[illegible] near Arch, Philadelphia. From this central establi[illegible] amilies may procure the finest qualities of Flour to be ha[illegible] market, as care is taken to keep a constant supply of the mo[illegible] rable brands. Also, Rye, Buckwheat, Indian, Oat and [illegible] Wheat Meal, fresh from the mill, delivered by an o[illegible] anywhere in the city and adjoining districts, or on boa[illegible] transportation lines leaving the city. CALEB [illegible]
N. B. An assortment of choice Family Hams, both Jersey [illegible] Western.

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 52 N. Fourth st[illegible] 2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail Stat[illegible] Blan[illegible] Books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual [illegible] English, French and American Cap, Letter and Note Papers, [illegible] lopes, Sealing Wax, plain and fancy Wafers of every desc[illegible] superior Gold and Steel Pens, Ink and Inkstands, Sand B[illegible] Cups, Paper Weights, plain and fancy Pen-holders, Drawing [illegible] and Books, Bristol Board, Tracing Paper, Impression Paper [illegible] Paper, &c. Visiting and Wedding Cards engraved or written [illegible] Portmonnaies, Pocket Books, Portfolios, Card Cases, [illegible] Diaries, &c. All kinds of Blank Books, Drafts, Deeds, Mortgage[illegible] Rodgers', Wolstenholm's and other Cutlery. Good self-seali[illegible] velopes, 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per thousand.
J. W. CLOTHIER & CO., Fourth st., below Arch, F[illegible]

PORTABLE DESK and DRESSING CASE Man[illegible] tory.—To ladies and gentlemen about to travel, the su[illegible] would respectfully call their attention to articles he man[illegible] many of which are made expressly for travelling purp[illegible] care and study having been expended to render each ar[illegible] multum in parvo; also, his well-selected stock of imported [illegible] tic Perfumery, of the best descriptions. Brushes of all [illegible] [illegible]h and American manufacture; Combs and Razors, Penkn[illegible] sors, and every instrument necessary for the toilet, o[illegible] proved makers; an assortment always on hand [illegible] Desks [illegible] Cases, Ladies' Reticules, Work Cases, Portfolios, Pocke[illegible] monnaies, Money Belts, and a general assortment of use[illegible] articles. WM. T. FRY, Manufac[illegible]
128 Arch street, above Sixth, south side, Phila[illegible]

BOOKS FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAV[illegible] OFFICE, Philadelphia.
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